THE ADOLESCENT CITIZEN

THE ADOLESCENT CITIZEN

By

FRANKLIN PATTERSON

and others

A Publication of The Tufts Civic Education Center

MLSU - CENTRAL LIBRARY

11194EX

The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois

Copyright © 1960 by The Free Press, a Corporation

Printed in the United States of America

Designed by Sidney Solomon

Library of Congress Catalogue Card No. 60-14403

Preface

THE CHAPTERS IN THIS VOLUME WERE PREPARED IN connection with a study of citizenship and youth development in secondary education conducted by the Tufts University Civic Education Center in 1958-59. Their publication here is a partial summation of the findings of that study.

Founded in 1948, the Tufts Civic Education Center has concentrated on the citizenship training responsibility of American schools and colleges, exploring ways in which this responsibility can be discharged with increasing effectiveness. The Center program, in its first years, was directed by its co-founders, Dr. John J. Mahoney, long-time Professor of Education at Boston University, and Dr. Henry W. Holmes, formerly Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. With their leadership, the Tufts Civic Education Center published new kinds of instructional materials for use by high school students in the study of governmental, social, and economic affairs. The Center also took part in the pre-service and in-service training of teachers, and produced teacher guides and other aids for use in the classroom. These activities gave the Tufts Center a place among other special citizenship education efforts which were going on in various parts of the country, including those at Columbia University Teachers College,

the Detroit Public Schools, Kansas State College, and New York University.

All of these efforts had much to commend them, but they tended to exhibit certain common limitations. One limitation was that, with certain exceptions, they took relatively little account of the developing field of social research in the formulation of their programs and in attempts at evaluation. And conversely, social research took relatively little notice of them. Strenuous attempts to improve the education of children and youth as citizens were made without adequate reference to the resources and approaches that could be derived from the developing sciences of man. Similarly, the social sciences gave scant attention to the school as a comprehensive laboratory for studying the enculturation of the young. This mutual failure was characteristic, to a degree, of the whole relationship between education and the social sciences. While pedagogy as a conscious profession in modern times had its roots in the study of behavior and has been influenced steadily by the social sciences, recent years have witnessed a developing hiatus between social research and the arena of social practice that we call education. This broken circuit has been particularly apparent in the field of education for citizenship. In no other part of the educational endeavor have zeal, shibboleth, and faith in good works been more evident, and needed attention to the contemporary resources of social research more absent.

At the secondary education level there is a basic need for long-range empirical and experimental study of ways in which the high school can help induct youth into full membership in an open society, where individualism and social order both have genuine meaning in terms associated with the concepts of democracy. The meeting of this need would require the best efforts and close, continuing collaboration of school people and behavioral scientists. The present attenuation of relationships between the two groups would have to be replaced by a greater willingness and effort to achieve communication between citizenship education, an important field of social practice, and the behavioral sciences.

The study of which these papers were a part was a modest effort by the Tufts Civic Education Center to move toward such communication. The immediate purposes of the study were to

review and reassess citizenship education practices in American high schools, to examine available relevant social research that might throw light on the problem of citizenship education for youth in a democratically oriented society, and to project new action and research possibilities vis-à-vis citizenship and adolescence that may prove fruitful to pursue.

A plan was formulated by the Center in 1957 and early 1958 to accomplish these purposes on a limited basis. The plan of the study attracted the interest of The Ford Foundation, and support in the form of a grant was provided by the Foundation to enable the study to proceed.

A multidisciplinary group drawn from education and from social research was formed to undertake individual assignments within the total study, to guide the study, and to subject its findings to discussion and criticism. This group included the following:

Dr. Robert Chin, Human Relations Center, Boston University;
Dr. James S. Coleman, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago;
Dr. Stanley E. Dimond, School of Education, University of Michigan;
Dr. George Gerbner, Institute of Communications Research, University of Illinois;
Dr. Jean D. Grambs, College of Education, University of Maryland;
Dr. Daniel W. Marshall, Department of Education, Tufts University;
Dr. Donald McNassor, The Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California;
Dr. Nevitt Sanford, Department of Psychology, University of California at Berkeley;
Dr. Ezra V. Saul, Institute of Applied Experimental Psychology, Tufts University;
Dr. Albert D. Ullman, Department of Sociology, Tufts University.

It was my privilege to co-ordinate the efforts of this group, and, in addition, I undertook leadership of the field phases of the study, visiting a selected variety of public, independent, and parochial secondary schools in several regions of the United States.

At the outset in the spring of 1958, the group decided against seeking to specify operational definitions of citizenship as an immediate task. Instead, a decision was made to work within a

broad general definition which would have maximum flexibility.

Working individually, and at times together, the members of the study group drafted their findings into working documents. These were then presented to an invitational conference called by the Tufts Civic Education Center and held at the Andover Inn, Andover, Massachusetts, January 29-31, 1959. The draft documents of the study were subjected to discussion and criticism by a group that included both educators and research personnel. Those participating, in addition to the study group, were:

Dr. G. Derwood Baker, Professor of Education, School of Education, New York University;

Dr. Harry Bard, Director of Secondary Curriculum, Baltimore Public Schools;

Dr. Hall Bartlett, Head, Materials Division, Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University;

Mr. Algernon D. Black, The Encampment for Citizenship;

Mr. Dyke Brown, Vice President, The Ford Foundation;

Mr. Howard H. Cummings, Specialist for Social Sciences and Geography, Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare;

Dr. Thomas J. Curtin, Director, Division of Civic Education, Massachusetts State Department of Education;

Dr. Martin Deutsch, Assistant Professor, Department of Pediatrics, College of Medicine at New York City, State University of New York;

Mrs. Dorothy W. Hamilton, Chairman, Social Studies Department, Milford (Connecticut) High School;

Mr. David Mallery, Teacher, Germantown Friends School, Philadelphia;

Sister Mary Janet, S. C., Principal, Saint Mary Cathedral High School, Lansing, Michigan;

Dr. Leonard C. Mead, Provost, Tufts University;

Dr. John E. O'Loughlin, Vice Headmaster, Somerville (Massachusetts) High School;

Mr. Robert M. O'Neil, Department of Drama and Speech, Tufts University;

Dr. Robert R. Robbins, Chairman, Department of Government, Tufts University;

Dr. David Salten, Superintendent of Schools, Long Beach, New York;

Dr. Archibald Shaw, Superintendent of Schools, Scarsdale, New York;
Mr. Frank A. Tredinnick, Jr., Vice President, Tufts University;
Dr. William E. Vickery, Educational Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews;
Mr. Leonard Weiner, Research Assistant, Institute for Applied Experimental Psychology, Tufts University.

Criticisms, comments, and suggestions of those participating were taken into account by the members of the study group in revising their papers for publication.

The chapters that follow provide a modest discussion of the past, present, and possible future of citizenship education in American high schools. In Part One, the discussion deals with backgrounds of practice in adolescent education for citizenship. The questions dealt with have to do with what has happened and what is happening in our high schools as far as citizenship is concerned. In Part Two, behavioral scientists discuss the implications that available research in sociology, social psychology, and communications may have for the teaching and learning of democratic citizenship. The questions dealt with concern present research and the light it may throw on the process of achieving adult citizenship in American culture. In Part Three, the papers are speculative, dealing with new perspectives in research and in the education of adolescents for citizenship. These chapters deal with new operational definitions of democratic citizenship and with educational approaches to learning attitudes and values, information and skills, and behavior congruent with a conception of practical democracy. These chapters advance new formulations for research and training in an immensely complex and crucial field of concern. A final chapter summarizes the discussions of the invitational conference at Andover. A full record of the discussions was kept on tape, but for the present report it has seemed most desirable and feasible to offer a digest of these discussions.

While the study was made possible by funds from The Ford Foundation, the Foundation is, of course, not to be understood as approving any of the findings or views expressed.

Many people have helped to make the present report possible. I wish to express my genuine appreciation to members of the study

group and the participants in the Andover Conference for the open, creative approach they took to this complex task. Mr. Dyke Brown, of The Ford Foundation, was an important source of insights and information helpful to the whole course of the study. In helping to conceive and encourage the performance of this study, Mr. Frederic C. Church, President of the Civic Education Foundation, provided important aid. Dr. John J. Mahoney and Dean Henry W. Holmes, co-founders and former directors of the Tufts Civic Education Center, reinforced our sense that the project we undertook was part of a crucial long-term educational concern. People too numerous to name, at high schools throughout the nation, in state departments of education, and in educational organizations, gave generous help. For all such aid we are sincerely grateful.

I am especially aware of the unstinting assistance given to details of our study and to the preparation of this volume by members of the Center staff at Tufts. Mrs. Nancy Cunningham, who was in charge of manuscript preparation for all of the papers, and who looked after numerous other matters with meticulous care and a happy touch, deserves special thanks.

I also make grateful acknowledgment of the courtesy of the copyright owners who have permitted the various quotations from their material, as indicated in the notes.

While many people have helped to make the present report possible and have contributed to the strengths it may have, its errors, weaknesses, or limitations are naturally my responsibility as its editor and as the director of the study. In view of the range of factors that we have proposed to deal with, this is a chilling thought. At the same time, the citizenship requirements of a free society and the potentialities of education and research in helping to meet these requirements are such that the responsibility for the attempt has been altogether worth assuming.

FRANKLIN PATTERSON

Contents

Preface
Franklin Patterson v

Backgrounds of Practice

1. The Changing Image of Secondary Education 3
by Franklin Patterson

2. What Do We Know About the High School? 18
by Jean D. Grambs

3. Citizenship: The Evolution of Education Goals 50
by Daniel W. Marshall

4. Studies and Projects in Citizenship Education 70
by Stanley E. Dimond

5. Citizenship and the High School: Representative Current Practices 100
by Franklin Patterson

Backgrounds of Research

6. Mass Communications and the Citizenship of Secondary School Youth — 179
by George Gerbner

7. Sociology and Character Education — 206
by Albert D. Ullman

8. The Relevance of Selected Psychological Data for Citizenship Education — 224
by Ezra V. Saul

9. Research Approaches to the Problem of Civic Training — 247
by Robert Chin

New Perspectives for Research and Action

10. A Psychologist Speculates About New Perspectives — 271
by Nevitt Sanford

11. A Sociologist Suggests New Perspectives — 288
by James S. Coleman

12. New Designs for Civic Education in the High School — 312
by Donald McNassor

13. New Directions in Research on Adolescent Education and Citizenship — 335
by Robert Chin

14. Discussions at The Andover Conference on New Perspectives in Research — 356
by Robert M. O'Neil and *Leonard Weiner*

Index — 383

BACKGROUNDS

OF

PRACTICE

CHAPTER ONE

The Changing Image of Secondary Education

FRANKLIN PATTERSON

SINCE WORLD WAR II, THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OF THE United States have come under steadily increasing stress. A variety of forces developing in the general society and pressures accumulating within secondary education have produced this condition. A social institution caught between external forces and internal pressures, public secondary education in the United States today appears to be on the threshold of some significant changes.

If we are concerned to have adolescents learn to be responsible adult citizens of a free society, transition and imminent change in secondary education are matters we cannot afford to ignore. Whatever its weaknesses or shortcomings, the high school has become our central social institution for the enculturation of adolescents.[1] It is therefore invested with a powerful potential to affect not only the individual development of boys and girls, but the nature of their society as well.

The high school and the nature of society have become inseparably related in our national life. The high school reflects our aspirations and qualities as a society. To the degree that it is a common school in Horace Mann's sense, the high school also has a significant potential power in itself to influence our society's values and performance.[2] Whether the high school is a reflex of social values or a force in the social process, however, is hardly the right question. Almost inevitably, the high school is both. More realistic questions to ask, if we are interested in the role of the high school as an agency of education for citizenship and adulthood in a good society, are these:

1. What does the high school do now?
2. What are the major circumstances and forces that press upon the high school today?
3. What is the prognosis, *i.e.*, what changes in the high school appear most likely, and where may these lead in terms of affecting our society?
4. What alternative or compensating changes may be possible in this time of transition, so that the power of the high school as a force for democratic social structure and process may be enhanced?

The first of these questions will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The last question in a real sense was a long-range concern of the study reported in this volume. Here, however, it would be useful to note briefly some answers to the second and third questions. In the field of secondary education, what are some of the current forces of greatest valence, and what is their direction in terms of probable change?

Circumstances and Forces Affecting Secondary Education Today

One set of circumstances creating stress in secondary education today arises out of the commitment of our society to the ideal of universal secondary education and out of our revolutionary

growth toward achievement of this ideal. This ideal and its achievement have immensely improved the quality of life in the United States during the past century and, at the same time, have created problems of serious dimensions.

Consider the gross facts of this growth. Between 1870 and 1955 the U. S. population increased fourfold; in the same period high school enrollment increased more than 100 times. In 1870 there were roughly 70,000 American boys and girls enrolled in high schools, nearly all of which were college preparatory institutions. In 1955 there were 7,680,000 students in schools which included college preparation as only one function among many others that had been added in the intervening years; most of these students were not college-bound.[3] The astounding growth of secondary education is reflected in other ways. In 1900, for example, only 11% of the nation's youth was enrolled in high schools and academies. By 1910 this proportion had increased to 15%. In 1920 the proportion was 32%; in 1930 it was over 50%; in 1940 it had risen to 73%; and after 1950 the proportion of our youth actually enrolled in secondary schools rose well above 85%.[4] It seems likely that relative enrollment will stabilize at a high level, and that absolute enrollment will continue to increase as the overall national population grows.[5]

The revolutionary development of universal secondary education in the United States during less than a century is an achievement unparalleled in other nations. This development, however, has entailed changes, innovations, and problems. In response to these, a number of agencies and individuals in American life are now proposing courses of action intended to alter or improve education. An example is found in the recently released Report V, *The Pursuit of Excellence*, of the Special Studies Project of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc., in which John W. Gardner and a subpanel of leading Americans commented:

> . . . In the past seventy-five years we have heaped upon our educators one of the most heroic assignments a society could have invented. We have taken into the school system a greater proportion of our youngsters, and we have kept more of them in the system longer than any other nation. . . . At the same time that

we have forced this expansion upon the system, we have pressed our educators to include in the curriculum an incredible variety of subjects, to take over more and more of the functions of the home, and to accept a sense of responsibility for every psychic or civic crisis involving individuals below the age of consent.

That our educators did not founder completely under these chaotic pressures is impressive. That they may be credited with heroic achievements in creating a system of universal education is a simple fact. . . . Fortunately, the demand to educate everyone up to the level of his ability and the demand for excellence in education are not incompatible. We must honor both goals. We must seek excellence in a context of concern for all.[6]

Report V proceeds to recommend changes in the teaching profession, in finances, in curriculum, and in the identification and fostering of talent. The intention of these recommendations is to help our schools provide "quality as well as quantity" in education.

The Rockefeller Report is one of a number of instances of a significant social phenomenon of the current period: the articulation of policy proposals for education by citizens of prestige and influence who are outside the daily work of our schools. This phenomenon, as it represents widespread concern for the welfare and effectiveness of education, is healthy. It demonstrates the proprietary sense we have about education as an important central institution. It illustrates how much faith we pin on education as an essential instrument of the social process. At the level of responsibility developed by the Rockefeller Report and The Study of the American High School under James B. Conant, articulation of policy proposals by those outside the schools can constitute a force of value in the improvement of secondary education.

Some current approaches to educational policy by well-known commentators seem less happy, however. Since our striving toward universal secondary education has yielded faults, some critics, in their eagerness for quality, seem prepared to throw out the baby with the bath.[7] David Riesman, in another instance, has tried to adapt the Keynesian concept of *counter-cyclicalism* to a theory of educational policy development.[8] He suggests a swinging-pendulum approach to policy in education. If there has been an overemphasis on quantity, it can perhaps be compensated for by a counter-

cyclical emphasis on quality. Then, if necessary, the pendulum can be swung back toward quantity again. If there has been overemphasis on nonacademic work in the high schools, a countercyclical emphasis on academic course work will be healthy, and so on. Such an arrangement works nicely in the social philosopher's closet. It seems likely, however, that the forces of policy development for the public high schools need a greater planfulness than this if much of value that has been built into secondary education in the past half century is not to be dismantled.

Policy articulation for our secondary schools by prestigeful lay leaders, to put it simply, can be good or bad. It all depends on the perceptions and values of those who are making pronouncements. A man may be a brilliant admiral and naval engineer, but it does not necessarily follow that his ideas on secondary education are sound. They may be wrong if the man's information is inadequate or incorrect, and dangerous if his recommendations turn us away from secondary education as a vehicle of democracy. Fortunately, many of the influential lay sources suggesting changes today come to the task with a broad outlook.

Important policy statements for public secondary education also come from within the profession of education itself. A professional position on public secondary schooling has evolved out of these statements over a period of years.[9] One of the most authoritative statements in recent years is the Thirty-Sixth Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, *The High School In a Changing World*. This volume begins with two "legitimate and critically important goals" of the secondary schools:

> The maximum development of all the mental, moral, emotional, and physical powers of the individual, to the end that he may enjoy a rich life thru the realization of worthy and desirable personal goals, and
>
> The maximum development of the ability and desire in each individual to make the greatest possible contribution to all humanity thru responsible participation in, and benefit from, the great privileges of American citizenship.[10]

These comprehensive goals derive substantially from earlier policy statements and agree closely with such contemporary restatements

as those of Will French and his associates, in which a relevant question about these goals and their meaning in terms of educational actuality is raised:

> We have said that the two purposes of individual development and active citizenship are correlated, but actually may they not be two aspects of the *same* purpose? . . . Only in a democracy do the ends sought by the society from education and the concern of each person for full growth and development tend to coincide. Only in a democracy is it so evident that if one throws himself freely into the affairs of his time, he does not thereby lose his opportunity for his own full and free development—but gains it for himself and others.[11]

Unfortunately, as Dressel and Mayhew have said, there is less disagreement about general educational objectives than about the means of achieving them.[12] The Rockefeller Report and the AASA Yearbook alike agree that insuring maximum opportunity for self-realization and social effectiveness should be the overriding goal of our high schools. Agreement at the level of such abstract generalization is not difficult to come by. The rub lies in the question of how these goals may best be achieved, and of what real obstacles may stand in their way.

Changes Ahead in Secondary Education

This brings us to a brief consideration of the third question: what is the prognosis, *i.e.*, what changes in the high school appear most likely, and where may these lead in terms of affecting our society?

The future of the American public high school will be affected by the direct forces which have been reviewed above. Commentators outside the high school, while in general agreement with professional educators on over-all goals, are especially urging changes which they feel will upgrade the quality of secondary school output. *Talent* is the watchword of these spokesmen. They argue for gearing the high school to the needs and capacities of gifted boys and girls more adequately than has been the case in

the past half century. To this end, they urge special grouping of the more talented students in our secondary schools, more demands on such students in subject-matter learning, and more competent instruction in science, languages, and mathematics.

Some spokesmen at one extreme of the lay forces lean strongly to a rigid sorting-out process, comparable to that in Great Britain, where academic (talented) students are separated from nonacademic (less talented) boys and girls at the beginning of adolescence. These planners, in effect, would have the United States change its program of universal secondary education and adopt a European model. Academic students would go into a "real" high school which, like the *lycee* in France or the *gymnasium* in Germany, would be an anteroom to the university. Nonacademic students, at the age of eleven or twelve, would enter a vocational or general school, where their training would ordinarily terminate at the age of fourteen or fifteen.

More moderate lay spokesmen believe that a sorting-out process need not be so extreme. Some assert that, indeed, it can be carried on *within* the comprehensive high school. What we need, such commentators say, are not separate high schools for separate talent groups. Instead, we should identify differential ability levels among high school students and construct separate programs to exercise these differential abilities to the maximum within the same school. This approach accepts as a practical necessity the homogeneous grouping of students according to capacities and interests in order to accomplish the goal of maximum individual development. At the same time, it seeks to conserve the values of commonalty by suggesting that certain nonacademic experiences (such as homerooms, physical education classes, and clubs) be provided on a heterogeneous basis, without regard to student ability or achievement differences. Thus, it is argued, we would pursue excellence in classes where students were segregated according to talent, and at the same time we would provide some opportunity for democratic social interaction in groups where academic achievement would not be at stake.

Leading schoolmen reject the idea that universal secondary education is an impractical and unrealistic goal, as some extreme critics declare. They refuse to accept the proposition that the

burden of educating all youth is too great and that educational opportunity in the upper years of high school should be restricted.[13] They agree that one of the major problems of our time is to educate all levels of ability, interest, and aspiration more adequately than has been the case thus far. They say, for example:

> We have planned the difficulty of our curriculum for the middle 50 per cent, but the types of courses are more suited to the interests of the upper 40 per cent. Limited opportunities to challenge our gifted youth, restricted services to the mentally and physically handicapped, and inappropriate offerings for youth of nonacademic ability and interest are among the inadequacies.[14]

Romine speaks for many school leaders in saying that the typical curriculum in many secondary schools is:

> Oriented to the past.
> Lacking in a thoughtful philosophic foundation.
> Primarily concerned with academic information and skills.
> Organized principally around subject-matter courses.
> Based mainly on adopted textbooks.
> Developed for the most part by individual teachers.[15]

Leaders comment with a note of regret that significant "innovations in curriculum structure and content are reported only by the venturesome few."[16]

While school leaders are generally opposed to remaking secondary education along European lines, many are listening attentively to the policy proposals advanced by the more powerful opinion-makers of our society. One gains the impression that, faced by gigantic problems of school finance and population growth, school people are prepared to bend a good distance with the wind of new doctrine. When powerful voices in our nation say that more stringent provisions must be adopted for the location, segregation, and training of talent, conformity to their specific recommendations may appear to be the price of maintaining secondary education as a universal institution.

When one visits high schools themselves, one finds an even greater readiness to go along with such policy proposals. Indeed, one gains the feeling that many teachers and principals view these proposals as welcome, though hardly new. There is frequently a

sense of relief as if, now that American leaders are calling for a tougher academic program and a more rigorous sorting-out of the capable from the less capable students, high school people can breathe more easily. Faced by all the diverse children of all the people, one can now, in good conscience and with a nimble hand, sort the sheep from the goats. Homogeneous grouping, long a feature of many high schools in terms of academic-nonacademic "tracks," and ability-grouping within these "tracks," has gained high endorsement. The job now is to proceed apace to apply grouping as thoroughly and explicitly as possible. One finds very often a vein of strong agreement with the point of view expressed by Virginia C. Gildersleeve, that our schools, are an "abuse of demoracy" unless they

> . . . sift out from the general mass of pupils . . . the minority who show promise of being able to absorb the education necessary for political leadership, for atomic physics, for the work of teachers, physicians, historians, philosophers, and a multitude of other much needed experts.[17]

Where May Changes Take Us?

What of the direction, then, of change in secondary education? As Henry W. Holmes has pointed out, what really is relatively new is the proposal that we seriously revise or even abandon what we have attempted in our high schools "in favor of a system more highly selective of the able and well-disposed."[18]

This proposal has peculiar force, coming as it does from influential quarters. Its force is increased by the relative ineffectuality of top school leaders in proposing specific alternatives that are more persuasive. It gains force, too, because many teachers and principals on the firing line are beset by the unresolved problems of handling great numbers of boys and girls of widely varying needs and abilities. They are attracted by the possibility that organizing the high school as a more selective institution, with academic achievement as its basic screen, will help to meet these problems.

It seems likely that, as a result of present proposals, changes

will occur which will serve to make the functions of the American high school more rigid. More assiduously applied homogeneous grouping seems almost certain. So, too, does increased emphasis on performance in "solid" subjects, with the likelihood that the number of "solids" will increase from four to four and a half or five per year. Heavier student loads of course work in academic subjects will be accompanied by increased loads of homework and additional emphasis on competitive success in standardized examinations. The familiar stratification of students in relation to their family and socioeconomic backgrounds is likely to be strengthened as the lines between "good" and "hopeless" students are drawn more sharply and officially. Fewer opportunities for interaction and communication among students of differing capabilities and environments are apt to be available.

These changes will have numerous consequences. On the positive side, they may very well enhance, particularly for the academically "able and well-disposed," the possibility of maximum individual intellectual and technical development. But unless nonacademic achievement is endowed with more status and support than it appears likely to be, it is difficult to see how the proposed changes will be of comparable benefit to the academically less "able and well-disposed."

The consequences of these changes, from the standpoint of democratic citizenship, could be disastrous if they are followed blindly or if they are not accompanied by important compensating changes designed to bolster the common school functions of secondary education. Important as it is to upgrade the quality of American high schools in promoting individual development, it is equally important to develop their capacity to raise up democratic adult citizens. Holmes has pointed to the serious danger of ignoring

> . . . one essential function of American education: to weld American youth into a body of citizens who have at least begun to mature in their understanding of democracy and their grasp of its critical issues. This is a function which transcends scholastic distinctions. Slow learners may suffer from political, economic, and social illiteracy, but the gifted are not immune to it. To

> accustom the young of a democracy to learn *together* about the problems of their own social order and to face *together* some of these problems in the life of the school itself—this is fully as important as the selection of budding scientists or other experts.[19]

To consider the training of an elite as its major function would cut American secondary education off from its basic tradition. Unless emphasis on the emergence of mature democratic behavior and insight is equal to emphasis on academic and skill achievement, we may cut secondary education off from being a positive force in the future of an open society.

Mann was right when he said that "the true business of the schoolroom connects itself, and becomes identical, with the great interests of society." If a society's interests are democratic, then the common school has a mighty obligation to teach a common democratic citizenship that transcends differences of all kinds. To do less, to diminish our search for a high civic competence for all men in our eagerness for technical and academic excellence, would invite the failure of our society. In another context, Elton Mayo put the matter thus:

> We have failed to train students in the study of social situations; we have thought that first-class technical training was sufficient in a modern and mechanical age. As a consequence we are technically competent as no other age in history has been; and we combine this with utter social incompetence.
>
> This defect of education and administration has of recent years become a menace to the whole future of civilization.[20]

If Mayo was at all right in 1945, little has happened since to alter the correctness of his judgment. Many other students of society, as we know, concur with his assessment and agree that our civilization must re-educate itself or perish.[21]

The Education of a Free People: Unfinished Business

We began this book with an assumption that the education of adolescents in our society is undergoing change. This process, only

now beginning, is largely motivated by a desire to improve our schools and consequently to improve the quality of our civilization. The present pursuit of excellence is mainly interpreted in action to mean locating, encouraging, and challenging individual capacities for intellectual development.

No one will quarrel with the assertion that a paramount goal of schools in a free society is to assist the maxium individual development of its people. Certainly, we who have conducted the present study subscribe strongly to this view. We agree that steps urgently need to be taken to improve the quality of education for boys and girls as individuals. With many others, we see a critical need for the more adequate identification and fostering of abilities and aptitudes; not only for utilitarian and vocational reasons, but for reasons that have to do with the quality of civilized living in its broadest sense.

But we offer two cautions. Both have to do with our assumption that individual development is *a* goal of American education, not *the* exclusive function it has to perform. Concomitant with this paramount goal is another of equal importance: the achievement of responsible, free citizenship for all Americans—a maximum of civic competence for every individual.

Our first caution, therefore, is that a sole emphasis on individual development, with academic excellence as its prime criterion, could seriously unbalance the high school as a central institution of a democratic society. Democracy, in our sense, does not mean individual development alone, with every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. It implies equally the sharing of a common past, present, and future in which each person has a stake. It implies *social* as well as individual values that are essential to the maintenance and extension of human freedom and justice. Education in a democracy must work for individual development as an end in itself, but it must work with equal vigor for a universal sharing of the rights and responsibilities of free citizenship. The more complex our culture becomes, the more difficult this related task seems. Our technology requires intensive specialization in intellectual and skill training. Our pluralistic society features varying regional, ethnic, and social-class subcultures. There is no doubt that we are *many*. Our problem is

Board of Education argued for the common school as an instrument for fashioning a sense of community, a public philosophy, and a common value system which would undergird a free and diverse society. "Never will wisdom preside in the halls of legislation," he wrote, "and its profound utterances be recorded on the pages of the statute book, until Common Schools . . . shall create a more far-seeing intelligence and a purer morality than has ever existed among communities of men." *The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on Education of Free Men*, edited by Lawrence A. Cremin. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1957, p. 6.

3. Benjamin Fine, "School and College Enrollment Has Risen to 40,000,000 and Worse Is Coming." *The New York Times, September* 18, 1955.

4. "Schools and the 1950 Census." *National Education Association Bulletin*, 24:164-65, December, 1951.

5. U. S. population in 1956 passed the 168,000,000 mark, an increase of more than 90,000,000 since 1900. Peter Drucker ("America's Next Twenty Years." *Harper's Magazine*, 210:27-32, March, 1955) and others predicted a national population of 220,000,000 by 1975. Projections of high school enrollment (see Fine, *op. cit.*) indicated an increase to 12,000,000 by 1965.

6. Report V, *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America*. New York: The Special Studies Project, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958.

7. For a recent lay discussion of this and other tendencies, see "Special Report: U. S. Education; What's Wrong; What's Ahead," reprinted from *Business Week*, April 19, 1958, p. 18.

8. David Riesman, "Thoughts on Teachers and Schools." *The Anchor Review*, Number One, 1955, pp. 53-59. See also Chapter III, "Secondary Education and 'Counter-Cyclical' Policy," in Riesman's *Constraint and Variety in American Education*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1956, pp. 107-54.

9. See, for example, Clarence D. Kingsley, "Report of the Committee of Nine on the Articulation of High School and College." *NEA Proceedings, 1911*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1911, pp. 559-67. Also *cf.* National Education Association, Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1918, No. 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, p. 32; Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1938, p. 157; Fifty-Second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, *Adapting the Secondary-School Program to the Needs of Youth*, Nelson B. Henry, editor. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 316; 1956 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *What Shall the High Schools Teach?* Washington: The Association, 1956, 229 pp.

10. Thirty-Sixth Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, *The High School in a Changing World*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1958, p. 28.

11. Will French and Associates, *Behavioral Goals of General Education in High School*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1957, pp. 30-31.

12. Paul L. Dressel and Lewis B. Mayhew, *General Education*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1954, p. 2.
13. Thirty-Sixth Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, *op. cit.*, p. 357.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 358.
15. *Idem.*, adapted from Stephen A. Romine, *Building the High School Curriculum*. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1954, pp. 20-26.
16. *Idem.*
17. From Henry W. Holmes, "Pity the Gifted." *The Educational Forum*, 22:199, January, 1958. Copyright by Kappa Delta Pi. Used by permission.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
20. Elton Mayo, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*. Boston: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1945, p. 120.
21. *Cf.*, for example, F. S. C. Northrup, *The Meeting of East and West*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946; Howard Mumford Jones, *Education and World Tragedy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946; Erich Fromm, *The Sane Society*. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1955; Ernest O. Melby, *The Education of Free Men*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955; Brock Chisholm, *Prescription for Survival*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. Allen Wheelis, *The Quest for Identity*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1958.

CHAPTER TWO

What Do We Know About the High School?

JEAN D. GRAMBS

"What the school rewards is what it gets."[1]

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR ADOLESCENTS OCCURS IN many settings; one of the most significant of these is undoubtedly the high school. The exact nature of the influence of this institution upon the civic behavior of youth in relation to other forces also operating upon young people is one of the great unanswered and possibly unanswerable questions. We do need to know something about the secondary school, if only as a backdrop against which the major drama of adolescence is played out.

In order to understand the high school of today one has to go back several generations. A high school is not an easy thing to change. Influences that have formed today's high school were at work many decades ago. We must work with an institution whose major organizational aspects were evolved over years of slow and conservative adjustment.

When we see something over long periods, such as the road we travel daily to work or the faces of the family around the dinner table, we cease to see some of the unique, distinguishing, even startling aspects of such objects which a stranger, newly come upon the scene, would remark upon immediately. So it is with our secondary schools. They are a familiar part of the landscape. Most of us, and most of our friends, have proceeded through the grades with the usual childhood and adolescent unawareness of the complexity of the structure that propelled us forward, trying to educate us in the process. Many features of this institution become so expected that not only is a great cry raised if there are attempts to change the structure; often enough the most salient features are hardly even considered as fit objects of change—features which may in themselves be the very forces that interfere with effective education.

One might add, too, that some of the indifference of educators to noneducational research about classrooms and schools (notably that undertaken by psychologists) is often due to the fact that such researchers are apt to be rather naïve about the institutional structure. They may fail to see some of these very familiar parts of the surroundings which have more to do with the outcome of their research than many of their experimental tinkerings. As Barker states it, "Psychologists have very largely given educators engineering answers to economic problems. Until this is changed, the usefulness of psychology to education will remain limited."[2] Failure to observe some of the facts of secondary school life can be expensive. One of the large testing bureaus, for instance, has invested a tremendous amount of time, energy, and talent in developing a new series of tests for national distribution at the junior and senior high school levels. Unfortunately, the tests last from sixty to seventy minutes each; the standard school "hour" is forty-five to fifty-five minutes. To adopt such a testing program wholesale would involve major disruptions of the school day. It is possible that many school systems will reluctantly decide not to use these new, and doubtless better, tests of educational development just because of this factor. The "hour" schedule in the secondary school is not only a major part of the structure but it is not subject to change—yet.

CHAPTER TWO

What Do We Know About the High School?

JEAN D. GRAMBS

"What the school rewards is what it gets."[1]

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR ADOLESCENTS OCCURS IN many settings; one of the most significant of these is undoubtedly the high school. The exact nature of the influence of this institution upon the civic behavior of youth in relation to other forces also operating upon young people is one of the great unanswered and possibly unanswerable questions. We do need to know something about the secondary school, if only as a backdrop against which the major drama of adolescence is played out.

In order to understand the high school of today one has to go back several generations. A high school is not an easy thing to change. Influences that have formed today's high school were at work many decades ago. We must work with an institution whose major organizational aspects were evolved over years of slow and conservative adjustment.

When we see something over long periods, such as the road we travel daily to work or the faces of the family around the dinner table, we cease to see some of the unique, distinguishing, even startling aspects of such objects which a stranger, newly come upon the scene, would remark upon immediately. So it is with our secondary schools. They are a familiar part of the landscape. Most of us, and most of our friends, have proceeded through the grades with the usual childhood and adolescent unawareness of the complexity of the structure that propelled us forward, trying to educate us in the process. Many features of this institution become so expected that not only is a great cry raised if there are attempts to change the structure; often enough the most salient features are hardly even considered as fit objects of change—features which may in themselves be the very forces that interfere with effective education.

One might add, too, that some of the indifference of educators to noneducational research about classrooms and schools (notably that undertaken by psychologists) is often due to the fact that such researchers are apt to be rather naïve about the institutional structure. They may fail to see some of these very familiar parts of the surroundings which have more to do with the outcome of their research than many of their experimental tinkerings. As Barker states it, "Psychologists have very largely given educators engineering answers to economic problems. Until this is changed, the usefulness of psychology to education will remain limited."[2] Failure to observe some of the facts of secondary school life can be expensive. One of the large testing bureaus, for instance, has invested a tremendous amount of time, energy, and talent in developing a new series of tests for national distribution at the junior and senior high school levels. Unfortunately, the tests last from sixty to seventy minutes each; the standard school "hour" is forty-five to fifty-five minutes. To adopt such a testing program wholesale would involve major disruptions of the school day. It is possible that many school systems will reluctantly decide not to use these new, and doubtless better, tests of educational development just because of this factor. The "hour" schedule in the secondary school is not only a major part of the structure but it is not subject to change—yet.

In this chapter, then, we are going to try to sketch briefly the standard features of the secondary school as it exists in most places today, with some look at the genesis of these features. Then we shall try to assess the major efforts that have been undertaken in the last three decades to study the secondary school and to recommend changes.

Studies of Secondary Education

Recent dissatisfactions with the secondary school, particularly in the areas of mathematics and science, have prompted a rash of status surveys and new proposals. But in the area of general evaluation of the secondary school today, including citizenship education, one must look to those studies which are now often likely to be considered of mere historical interest. Yet they are not just historical; the studies of the American high school which took place during the twenties and thirties tell us a great deal about today's schools.

Major studies of secondary education in the United States have been scarce. It is no simple task to set out to study the secondary schools of this country in this century. There are thousands of American secondary schools in 1959, enrolling nearly nine million students. Even a few decades back the numbers of schools and numbers of students were appalling. How could one find out what this vast enterprise was up to?

The American school system, because of its diversity, is an exceedingly hard animal to catch, dissect, and diagnose. Diversity arises out of regional and local traditions, eccentricities, and problems. The findings of any "national" study are, at the start, doomed by local qualifications: "Why, those findings just don't apply to us at all—we are different!" Knowing local sensitivity, educational researchers and pioneers have been reluctant to tackle the "big job." Of course, it all requires money. To embark on a major educational survey would require a considerable sum; educational research is not richly endowed. For these several reasons, one finds relatively slim pickings in the area of studies of the secondary school in the last thirty years.

Change does not come quickly to the high school. Recommendations of the early thirties sound surprisingly modern when read today; and one is keenly aware of the fact that such recommendations, if made today, would sound revolutionary indeed. The fact that lacks or needs are reported in the educational literature and included in earlier major studies of the secondary school is no indication that such findings will produce remedial changes. Yet these studies have had some influence—we do not know for sure quite how much or in what direction. The assumption we make is that what is to be found in today's schools is not much different from what is reported in the literature of major studies of a number of years ago.

What did these studies report regarding the nature and extent of civic education? How did they arrive at their findings? What were their recommendations? What influence, if any—and if it can be ascertained—did such studies have? These are some of the questions which we shall consider, after first sketching in the main institutional features of the high school.

The Making of an Institution

In the long history of mankind, the history of the American secondary school is short indeed. Compared with the educational institutions of Western Europe, the American secondary school is a relative newcomer.

We will not recount in detail the history of the high school in the United States, but it may be useful to review some of the more salient facts of its development. The public secondary school was built upon the private college-preparatory academies of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The spirit of the late nineteenth century in America was to extend to all the privileges that money could buy for a few. Thus the free public secondary school was fought for and won, with significant support from organized labor in the early 1900's.

What did the public want? They wanted a secondary school easily accessible and *relatively free (with no tuition fees, even* though texts and other supplies and materials were charged to the

student) so that anyone's son or daughter could qualify for college entrance. This early goal, finally achieved in every state in the union after nearly fifty years of effort, has left its mark upon the high school. The core of the secondary school is its academic program; that is, the courses that are typically required for college enrollment. As schools expanded, as more students came, the high school changed by accretion; new courses were added in non-academic programs. A recent study of reorganized school districts in five states shows that the process is still going on:

> Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the range of courses added by all sizes of districts was the degree to which it represented a broadening of the secondary school programs beyond the course offerings commonly associated with the traditional college-preparatory curriculum.[3]

A similar comment was made by the Lynds in their classic study of Middletown. They noted that the curriculum in 1924 was remarkably similar to that of 1870, though single courses had now proliferated into several distinct courses differently titled.[4]

The smaller the school, the more likely is it to offer only the minimum of courses; and the minimum is construed to be those which lead to college admission. The incongruence of this state of affairs is apparent when one notes that the smaller the school, the less likely are its graduates to go on to college![5]

The basic nature of the public secondary school was thus established very early in its institutional life, and the mark persists to this day.[6] The author taught in an isolated rural high school in the Sierra foothills, enrolling 130 students in Grades 9-12, and each year sent one or two students to the university; yet the major course offerings were such as to equip nine tenths of the student body with the prerequisites for a college education which they did not want or could not get.

The colleges have not been idle spectators of this development. In fact, the role of the college and university has been very great in molding the secondary school to its demands. Today, reading the many noneducator comments upon the public schools, one notes the recurrent theme of the failure of the secondary schools—not because two thirds of their graduates are unable to take a

mature place in society—but because one third are not demonstrating one hundred per cent competence in tackling college tasks. The changes that may take place in secondary education in the coming decades may well be influenced by these familiar pressures, pressures that, prior to 1900, first set the mold of secondary education and may continue to direct what the secondary school may do.

In very broad outline, then, we can see the secondary school as an institution whose most significant *traditional* core is made up of college-preparatory subjects. Around this central core have been built other institutional devices that tend to make the structure rigid and which, it is our assumption, have interfered to date with *any* adequate citizenship education program.

The Institution Grows Rigid

Institutions acquire hardening of the arteries, but some harden sooner than others. One might say of the secondary schools of America that the hardening took place almost at birth, and there has been little effective attempt to cure the disease. Several significant events have played a part in creating a strangely uniform secondary school system, despite our acute awareness of the power of local control over education. It is important to discuss these influences and institutional characteristics, because they help us to understand, if not explain, why it is that the major recent studies of secondary education, with their documented recommendations toward change in directions we might well agree with, have met with so little success.

ACCREDITATION

One of the most significant forces holding the secondary school to a standard pattern is the process of accreditation. To an outsider, accreditation means relatively little. One of the interesting by-products of the battle over desegregation of the public schools in Virginia and Arkansas in 1958-59 was the fear expressed by a few individuals that if the high schools did not open they might lose their accreditation, and students who attended private schools set up especially to preserve segregation might later find difficulty

in furthering their educational plans. Such schools, even if locally accredited, might lack accreditation by one of the regional accreditation bodies.

A brief history of accreditation will suffice here. As public schools grew in number and as the pressure for college admittance increased, it became apparent that entrance by examination would in itself not be enough. Particularly in the Midwest did the entrance-examination process appear to be undesirable. In 1871, the University of Michigan set up the first visiting committees to approve schools so that students graduating from these schools could be admitted to the University on the basis of a certificate or transcript. Although at the time this was quite a revolutionary idea, it was soon adopted by many other institutions; by 1897 no fewer than 42 state institutions and 150 other colleges and universities had adopted it.[7] However, such a system was burdensome and cumbersome. By 1889, a new solution was sought through the organization of the first regional cooperative body, the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools; in 1895, the North Central and Southern Associations were formed; and other regional associations followed. The North Central Association in 1901 formalized through a commission on accreditation what the other associations were attempting to reach: a measure of secondary school achievement which would guarantee to the college that the graduate would succeed. Standards included the academic and professional training of teachers, teacher load, library and laboratory facilities, and the "general quality, tone and efficiency of the school."[8] These standards assumed that the school would offer a traditional academic curriculum; seemingly it did not occur to the early accreditation commissions that a high school was in business for any other major purpose.

As one commentator observes of the accreditation associations:

> Ironically enough, a liberal innovation which began in the Middle West proved to be one of the most powerful movements in standardizing the curriculum of the secondary school after 1900. . . . Through the years, the standards established by these regional groups for the accrediting of secondary schools have been pointed primarily toward college entrance. . . . The result

has been that a standardized system has evolved: the elementary school has prepared pupils for a secondary school where the student in turn finds that college preparatory curriculum is predominant, especially since the typical secondary school is small in size and does not offer diversified programs. This situation has tended to keep saddled upon the secondary school a curriculum much more rigid than that of the elementary school.[9]

It is important to note in this connection that current critiques of the secondary school program (with the notable exception of the Eight Year Study of the Progressive Education Association) *rarely, if ever, strike at this central fact of secondary school life.* We shall note later, however, the attempt to develop "Evaluative Criteria" which to some extent would liberalize the hold of the accrediting forces and focus educational attention upon more crucial and more fundamental needs in the total educational process.

To this day, however, it is a wise administrator who makes sure that his high school gains its accreditation before he tries to do *any innovating! And it is a wise parent who makes sure his child* goes to an accredited high school, if he wants to ensure that one less hurdle will be encountered in obtaining college admission.

THE CARNEGIE UNIT

At the same time that accreditation became the significant goal for any self-respecting high school, another and parallel development was taking place. How could one tell without an examination whether a student had *actually been instructed "enough" in any* given subject? The answer, obviously, was to state that he had spent so many hours, so many days and weeks, in the study of the subject. The early attempts to define a "unit" were formalized in the reports made by Pritchett when president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1906-07. The "Carnegie unit," as it is referred to by secondary school personnel, had its origin in his recommendations. And what were his recommendations based upon? The motivation had been to find a means of evaluating colleges for the purpose of granting retirement allowances to professors supported by the Carnegie Foundation. A

college which accepted fifteen "units" of high school work for admission could qualify for retirement benefits for its professors.[10] Why, one might ask, go such a roundabout way to define a college and establish its quality? In any event, a yardstick to measure the quantity of high school preparation was welcomed by the profession. A standard had been set, and it was adopted by the colleges for obvious financial reasons; and thus, in turn, it set the pattern for the high schools.

A Carnegie unit consists of 120 hours of classroom instruction spread over 36 weeks of school time and includes required out-of-class preparation. States vary in the number of units required for graduation, but the largest number (34) require 16 units. Such courses as physical education, art, and industrial arts are sometimes given one-half or one-quarter credit toward graduation.[11]

One modern critical review of the curriculum process states that:

> The assumptions underlying the Carnegie Unit have never been validated. The system has been accepted, not because of its demonstrated educational advantages, but because its theory of equivalent units makes it extremely convenient in academic bookkeeping. No one knows the length of class period, nor the frequency of periods, most conducive to learning in a given content course. . . . Could just as much American history be learned in three class meetings per week as in five per week? Could it be that more learning would result from two American history classes a week for a year than from five classes a week for a semester? Is it reasonable to suppose that the attitude of dependency in intellectual matters, so often found in students, is due in part to the frequency of class meetings and the consequent tendency of teachers to carry the responsibilities of the class?[12]

Yet even thirty years ago the dangers of "credititis" were forcibly pointed out:

> Criticism has often been leveled of late at high-school and college students because they are credit seekers. . . . As a matter of fact, the formal high school . . . is a credit institution. Diplomas, promotions, school honors—everything is given in terms of

> credits earned, and these credits are thought of as "courses passed" or in terms of daily assignments completed, recitations made satisfactorily, book reports completed on time. Graduation depends on the completion of fifteen Carnegie units (Grim irony of fate!). The social objectives are of no significance to the formal school.[13]

What pattern these 15 or 16 units should fall into was established in large part by the college entrance examinations required by the elite private colleges. President Eliot of Harvard in 1877 suggested a college examination board, but this was not put into operation until 1900. The subjects covered by the examinations became established as the constant elements in the college-preparatory curricula of the secondary schools.[14]

You can see the pattern forming: public secondary schools take over the functions of the private academies of preparing students for college; as more students emerge, colleges seek a standard for admission; the Carnegie unit offers a direct appeal to colleges, which in turn apply it to high schools; accrediting associations, setting some standard for college admissions, stress college preparation; course patterns are set by examination requirements for entrance to college.

These events occurred between the years 1870 and 1907. A brief look at any American high school today shows the strong mark of these events. The Carnegie unit is flourishing.[15] The academic course pattern is geared to what most colleges and universities will accept.

THE CLASS SCHEDULE AND HOUR CLASS

Now let us consider further implications of this structure. To organize a school so that the Carnegie unit can operate has meant the standardization of the "hour" (fifty-minute) class. Although some schools are experimenting with two-hour blocks or other variations,[16] the typical secondary school is tightly run on a "schedule" of six or seven "periods" of instruction per student per day so that the student can obtain the requisite number of Carnegie units for graduation and college entrance.

What does the "hour" period do to school programs? Science courses have been the chief academic sufferers and may perhaps be the first to get relief, since it is clear that many laboratory

experiments, including taking out and putting away equipment, cannot take place within the standard period. The art teachers complain, and so do the home economics people. In some schools an easing of the schedule is provided for vocational courses where the students are not going to college anyway; students can take a whole morning of auto shop, for instance, and one of electric shop, rather than having each course chopped into equal units each day.

For the social studies, the "hour" period has some obvious disadvantages, although it has not been entirely proved that if the "hour" period were abandoned a better program would necessarily follow. Yet if there were different allotments of time—two and three hours one day and maybe two one-hour periods for two other days—the social studies instructor might be tempted to organize more rigorous study units and embark on more ambitious activities. Field trips might be more common, and these in turn might be part of more rewarding citizenship education practices. In any case, the rigid hour-period schedule perforce makes the read-recite-quiz type of teaching not only more feasible, but almost necessary for student and teacher survival. The schedule is also, of course, a product of mass education; but even small high schools do not show an indication of breaking away.

SEPARATE COURSE ORGANIZATION

Paralleling the growth of the accreditation process, the acceptance of the Carnegie unit as the measure of accomplishment, and a standard course sequence for college entrance was the development of bodies of information organized into "courses." While names and areas of study have shifted through the years, the idea of a separate course for each subject has remained. Various efforts by individual schools (such as in the Eight Year Study to be discussed below) to experiment with logical combinations of subject matter have met with only limited success, and then usually in terms of courses organized for slower students. "General Mathematics" or "General Science," which are sometimes survey courses covering a wide area of subject matter, are not typically designed for the college-bound student. The better the student, the more fragmented his courses are likely to be.

Such separate course sequences, which teachers on the whole heartily support,[17] tend to reinforce the conservative nature of the institution. While interdisciplinary efforts are occurring at advance research levels and many colleges offer survey courses in broad areas of study, high schools generally have avoided them. True, schools here and there have "fused" or "broad fields" courses, and in many high schools there is a twelfth-grade social studies course known as "Problems of Democracy" or "Modern Problems," but for the most part courses are kept rigidly separated from one another.

The relationship between the Carnegie unit, separate course organization, and the daily high school schedule blocked out by hours is cogently summarized by Smith, Stanley, and Shores:

> At the present time, the entire school system, in so far as content subjects are concerned, is operating on the basis of a mere convention with respect to the distribution of time. Moreover, the definition of teaching loads, at least at the high school level, is necessarily related to the allotment and distribution of time in the various aspects of the curriculum. If substantial progress is to be made in changing the curriculum as well as in adjusting the instructional load that now burdens the teachers in almost every school, the present time pattern may have to be reconstructed. No one has attempted to make significant curriculum changes without encountering the bugbears of unit credit and overworked teachers. These two barriers to curriculum development are not unrelated, and they both are intimately tied up with the Carnegie unit as the standard of academic exchange.[18]

THE GRADING-MARKING SYSTEM

Now let us look at another of the major aspects of the secondary school program which have been established as part of the expected procedure. This is the ubiquitous grading-marking system. Marks are given for every performance or nonperformance. Students receive report cards at frequent intervals upon which their grades are recorded for parents and for posterity.

Grades are very subjective teacher evaluations of student performance. Many studies have shown, since the classic ones of Starch and Starch and of Elliott between 1913 and 1917,[19] that

teachers' marks are highly unreliable. Other studies have demonstrated another crucial bias in the grading system, namely, the fact that teachers consistently overgrade girls and undergrade boys.[20]

Grades have been indicted on many counts, not the least of which is that students learn to get a grade rather than to gain knowledge or skill. When such a significant force enters the learning situation, one can no longer wonder why it is that so much of what is called education results in such superficial performance. It is no more genuine education than is the learning that goes on merely to pass an examination which takes place in most European schools. Yet grading establishes the dominant mode that exists in the American high school. The origin of the grading system seems to be lost in the mists of the late nineteenth century, and it is rarely an important concern of current school reformers. It is so taken for granted as part of the high school picture that it is usually forgotten when changes are suggested, yet it is hard to conceive of any other single factor that has such a profound effect upon the actual learning behavior of students. "What the school rewards is what it gets"; no more cogent phrase could be used to describe the actual outcome of the domination of today's high school by the grading complex.

THE TEXTBOOK

We turn now to another significant aspect of the secondary school program: the materials of instruction. The American secondary school is unique on many counts: the grading system, the unit of credit, mass enrollments, local legislative control. And not least among these distinguishing characteristics is the textbook.

Educators have raised a cry against domination of the curriculum by textbooks for many years. Studies of textbooks used in the social studies have demonstrated the lacks, biases, and imbalances that exist.[21]

The controversial nature of the social studies area is nowhere better demonstrated than in the history of the criticisms of social studies texts. These have been viewed by some as subversive and anti-American on the one hand, and have been criticized for sins of omission and commission by educators on the other. The result of such criticisms and inquiries, from whatever side, has been to

make book publishers exceedingly cautious. Who knows when a given phrase or idea will be picked out by some individual for critical attack and kill future sales?

The high school is a place where the textbook is likely to be the basic source of content in academic fields. The place of the textbook is a symptom of the print-orientation of the American school system. Despite the increase in experimental school TV programs and the now fairly common use of some movies in classrooms, the textbook is still the basis for the course of study.[22]

Since making and selling textbooks is a major undertaking involving the investment of vast sums, it is observable that few innovations in school practice come via commercial textbooks. A strong tendency toward national standardization of curriculum also is a by-product of large-scale production of textbooks. When a school invests thousands of dollars in a set of textbooks, it is practically guaranteeing that the course in which these books will be used will remain unchanged until the textbooks wear out.

The textbook is a singularly pervasive method of standardizing the curriculum; as book publishers get larger, their efforts to corral more and more of the market result in the same text being used in schools in all parts of the country. As schools and classes grow larger, as more and more inexperienced teachers are recruited, there is an increased tendency to rely upon the standardized textbook for direction. Here, at least, a new teacher can feel that the limits are safely set. Thus we see one more element of the institutional structure which has contributed to rigidity, conservatism, and resistance to change.

LEGISLATIVE PRESCRIPTIONS

Other forces have been at work molding the public high school. So far we have talked chiefly about those which were dominated by educational interests primarily. What of the public? The public, of course, is the unseen force which helped to support the notion that high schools are, first and foremost, in the business of preparing students for college. But beyond this—and of direct concern to us in the citizenship education area—are the more specific ways in which the public has made its wishes known, namely, via legislation. A study of the elementary school curriculum in 1926

pointed out that by 1903 thirty states had prescribed the teaching of United States history; but only one state by law specifically required the teaching of citizenship, and one other required patriotism. By 1923, thirty-five states prescribed the teaching of U. S. history and between twelve and fourteen states prescribed the teaching of either citizenship or patriotism.[23] The Office of Education, reviewing the same situation with particular reference to legislation in the citizenship-patriotism area twenty-two years later, found that all but four states required instruction in the Constitution in the elementary grades, and all but two states required such instruction in the high school, although through requirements of their state departments of education even these two states fell into line.

> . . . it will be noted that with respect to the teaching of the Constitution of the United States, apparently more than any other subject in the curriculum, the legislatures have been more specific as to time and emphasis to be placed upon this subject.[24]

At least three fourths of the states require instruction in the history of the United States, and practice typically results in all schools teaching such history not only once, but usually three times during the twelve years of public schooling.

The Lynds observed this phenomenon in commenting on the differences in school curriculum between 1890 and 1924:

> Second only in importance to the rise of these courses addressed to practical vocational activities is the new emphasis upon courses in history and civics. These represent yet another point at which Middletown is bending its schools to the immediate service of its institutions—in this case, bolstering community solidarity against sundry divisive tendencies. . . . Sixteen per cent of the total student hours in the high school are devoted to these social studies—history, sociology, and civics. . . .[25]

In commenting further on these courses, however, the Lynds appended a significant footnote:

> Descriptions of courses and instructions to teachers as set forth by the School Board or State Department of Education

> sometimes bear little relation to what children are actually being taught in the class-room. But they do show what those directing the training of the young think *ought* to be taught and what they believe the public thinks ought to be taught.[26]

That one should not take legislative prescriptions literally was further underlined in 1944 by Myrdal in his classic study of the place of the Negro in America:

> There is a clear tendency to avoid civics and other social sciences in Southern Negro public schools. They are not taught to any extent in the white schools, but a special effort is made to prevent Negroes from thinking about the duties and privileges of citizenship. In some places there are different school books for Negroes and whites, especially in those fields that border on the social. Where white students are taught the Constitution and the structure of governments, Negroes are given courses in "character building," by which is meant courtesy, humility, self-control, satisfaction with the poorer things of life, and all the traits which mark a "good nigger" in the eyes of the Southern whites.[27]

Legislative acts, however, have played a role in determining some aspects of the school program and have been particularly important in the area of the social studies. The significant impact of civic organizations in going to the legislature and having changes in curriculum written into state law is amply documented in studies by Pierce,[28] by Beale,[29] and more recently by Skaife.[30]

Legislation, of course, is but one aspect of a much larger unique American phenomenon: public control of education. We do not have room here to spell out the ways in which the public enters into the educational picture via elected school boards, school-bond elections, organized parent groups, and numerous formal and informal avenues of contact. One school board member commented recently that "educators are in the only profession that has to take laymen seriously." Whatever we may say about ideal educational programs, about needed educational changes, even about the accepted tenets of American belief which are, or should be, the basis for curricular planning, it is the public which controls to a large degree the implementation of such ideas.

Coeducation—A Classic Illustration of Resistance to Change in the High School

In looking back over the items already enumerated, one sees the high school as an academically oriented institution with certain definite formal characteristics. It may be useful to look at the impact of coeducation upon the high school as a classic example of how these characteristic forms can resist change. Although at the turn of the century coeducation was viewed by some with alarm, dismay, and even revulsion, the pressure of population and the drive toward equal rights for women won out. As public high schools were established beyond urban areas, there usually were not enough boys and girls in a given locality to justify separate institutions, and perforce a single high school enrolled them all. Today we still have a few separate schools for boys in large urban centers, but they are exceedingly rare.

What has been the impact upon high school organization and curriculum of having to educate girls as well as boys? Briefly, it has made relatively little difference. The school today is organized in most instances as though boys and girls have identical personal needs and life goals. Recent studies of mathematics and science, showing that girls take such courses in far fewer numbers than boys, have caused some consternation. Yet in terms of social valuations, purposes in life, and peer and parental pressure, this is exactly the state of affairs one might expect. The primary motive in organizing the public high school was to prepare students for college, and, more specifically, it was to prepare *boys* for such extended education. Although girls, on the whole, stay in high school longer than boys, the kind of education that is provided is primarily masculine.

While, on the one hand, our culture has seemed to see the role of girls and women as homemakers and child-rearers, it has given them an education organized on the principle that they are typically career-motivated and/or college-bound. What girls have done with this kind of cultural schizophrenia has been to confound their elders: they have turned out to want to be homemakers in large droves, and also to invade many of the career domains held sacred to the male, thus sending a chill of panic into the protectors

of the family. As one reads in the popular literature about "what is wrong with American women," or how "the working mother contributes to delinquency," one generally finds little or no connection made between such comments and the kind of institutional education that is provided for girls.

Efforts at Change

We have reviewed some of the salient features of the contemporary American secondary school. These features must be dealt with by any program that desires to obtain a different educational outcome from that which we now produce. We have not mentioned the larger social forces which impinge upon the secondary school. But these forces, however they may be identified, are going to be dealt with by school personnel (and by lay boards of education) primarily in terms of the standard institution; change when and if it comes must take account of existing major institutional factors.

Support for such a statement comes from a look at the findings of major studies of secondary education that have been made with the goal of revealing needs, lacks, and shortcomings and of inducing professional and public leadership to reshape the high school into a more effective institution. Let us examine the experience of such efforts to change the system.

ACHIEVING CHANGE THROUGH PRONOUNCEMENTS OF COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS

The history of education is studded with the names of major committees and commissions whose statements on the goals and purposes of education over the past half century are dutifully studied by undergraduates in courses in education. What impact have these statements had upon the course of education?

Early committees were staffed by college professors, administrators, and subject-matter teachers who were devoted to the classical and traditional in education. The Committee of Ten is a good case in point. Organized by the National Education Association in 1891, the Committee made its report in 1894. The Committee's report was based on a series of conferences in the

several areas of the school curriculum: Latin, Greek, English, modern languages, mathematics, and so forth. Each conference addressed itself to the question of how much time should be given to the subject in the school, what should be the sequence of topics, what constitutes proficiency, and similar questions. No attempt was made to look at the actual operations of the school or the needs of students. The conclusion the Committee itself came to is fascinating: "every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil as long as he pursues it."[31]

In due time, the scientific movement affected even such groups. In order to bolster the kinds of recommendations they sought, major study committees began to collect data from the field; teachers, administrators, and even students were involved in attempts to get at the "real" educational needs in a given subject or for the schools as a whole.

One of the most far-reaching of such endeavors was that of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, whose statement of the Seven Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education, enunciated in 1918, established goals of general education for the total individual, a clear departure from any previous formulation of goals of education. The Commission attempted through its various subcommittees to review the secondary curriculum in terms of the "activities of individuals in a democratic society rather than in terms of subject achievement."[32]

How effective are such statements in changing school practices? A follow-up study was made by the Department of Superintendence of the NEA in 1928 to ascertain what had been the effect on schools of the enunciation of the Seven Cardinal Principles. Of 1,228 principals who replied to a questionnaire regarding curriculum changes, fifty-six per cent indicated that they had undertaken some kind of reorganization because of this statement of objectives. The most frequent reason given for failure to make any changes, however, was that the principal had never heard of the Seven Cardinal Principles—ten years after they had been enunciated.[33] The Principles, nonetheless, have had a vigorous existence. The statement of goals of democratic education published by the Educational Policies Commission in 1938, for example,

closely paralleled them. The 1938 statement contained differences in specifics, but its basic assumptions were similar to those of the earlier document.[34]

If we are concerned primarily with curricular change, we can note many older efforts in this direction by many groups. Commissions on the teaching of English, mathematics, and social studies have all made independent efforts to effect improvement in secondary school offerings. Certainly many of the current procedures and course sequences have been effected to some degree by this kind of inquiry. When a school system becomes dissatisfied with a curriculum area, it typically appoints a committee of teachers (supervisors and administrators and perhaps even a local college person may be included) to study the existing literature and come up with a new program for adoption. The major source for finding out the "oughts" of education is found in the standard reports, dating back many years, that have emanated from the commissions and committees in various subject areas. In this sense certainly we can attest the influence of these reports.

A new style in recommendations for practice took place with studies for curriculum purposes which focused on youth themselves, as well as the course content. The most famous of these, the Eight Year Study of the Progressive Education Association and the New York Regents' Inquiry, are important not only for what they tried to do, but for what they failed to do. We shall consider these and other broad studies of the secondary school in more detail.

THE NEW YORK REGENTS' INQUIRY, 1935-38

The study usually known by the title above, but more officially noted in the literature as the Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, undertook to do just that. It is hard to say whether concern for cost or for character was the leading motivation. In any event, the New York schools were subjected to a very rigorous—and well-reported—inquiry. The study, in its many aspects, pointed up lacks of the public school system. A most penetrating report was that on *Education for Citizenship* by Wilson.[35] Twenty years ago—is this a long or a short time? Perhaps as the world turns it is a very short

time indeed; as Western civilization is rocketed into the future, it is a very long time. The recommendations of Wilson, while two decades old, seem remarkably new as read today. For instance:

> It must be emphasized that, so far as can be observed, the emotional and volitional drives for civic action will not arise from classroom instruction alone. For administration to place upon social studies the full burden of social education is an unwarranted and futile confusion of meanings in a single term. However, the social-studies staff can contribute to the broader ends of education in two direct ways. In the first place, *social-studies teachers should have been trained to a keener perception of the social processes within the school.* It lies in their own field of work to view the school as a sociological phenomenon, and for this reason they should be continuously active in the stimulation of pupil groups. They should seek to utilize in the school as nearly as possible the same social forces which pupils will utilize in adult life.
>
> But of even more importance than this, social-studies teachers must do more to make pupils conscious of the social operations of the school. The social-studies curriculum must deal more directly with the school as an instance of group living, not merely the school as a historical or narrowly intellectual institution, but also the school as a political and a sociological expression. *Pupils need to be guided into an understanding of the forces that immediately surround them if they are ever to see realistically the forces that operate in the larger society.* In social-studies classes it is not too much to ask that pupils study such matters as forms of student participation in school government, how one gets elected to office, what qualities make for popularity among one's mates, what the enduring elements of personality are, and what the relation of academic work to active living is. These are matters for the social-studies curriculum . . . because through them the pupil may discover "in the small" many of the social processes and forces which dominate society "in the large."[36]

Such sentiments would have been welcomed by Waller, the most creative sociologist to view the public school as an institutional process.[37] Yet how many schools, if any, have followed Wilson's suggestions? How many New York schools?

As a small symptom of the lack of impact of the Regents' Inquiry recommendations on social studies instruction, we can look at the latest publication of the New York State Department of Education, *Citizenship Education: Planning Guide.*[38] This guide, which precedes the publication of extensive resource units for teachers in the various social studies, presents an over-all picture of what the citizenship program should be like in practice. One looks in vain for evidence of the recommendation so eloquently stated by Wilson in 1938.

Some observers have credited the Regents' study with establishing the importance of basic curriculum study and school evaluation upon the actual state of affairs of youth, in school and out of school.[39] Yet in spite of the specific and pointed recommendation that Regents' examinations be utilized for diagnostic and remedial purposes, because of the danger of teaching *to* the examination, the examinations are in full bloom today and effectively dominate academic course work in many New York State high schools.

THE COOPERATIVE STUDY OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STANDARDS, 1933-39, 1950

The tremendous significance of accreditation standards in establishing a common high school curriculum has already been mentioned. A number of regional studies prior to 1933 occurred in the process of making more systematic the procedures involved in accreditation. However, as this process became ever more general and involved most of the secondary schools in the United States, the rigidity that resulted from the usual accreditation process became apparent. As a result, a conference of the several major regional accrediting associations agreed to the establishment of a broader base for accrediting, a base that would look beyond the college-preparatory aspects of school programs and take cognizance of what secondary schools might try to do for youth who were not going to college. In this way, it was hoped, high schools would be encouraged to develop more comprehensive programs, while still satisfying the colleges with adequate college-preparatory sequences and credits.

The study proposed to answer these questions:

1. What are the characteristics of a good secondary school?
2. What practicable means and methods may be employed to evaluate the effectiveness of a school in terms of its objectives?
3. By what means and processes does a good school develop into a better one?
4. How can regional associations stimulate secondary schools to continuous growth?[40]

The task was not an easy one; standards needed to be set, and means of observing the achievement of these standards had to be developed.

The individual studies that eventually were organized into the Evaluative Criteria are of great interest to the study of secondary school curriculum development. For instance, the study staff firmly held to the position that evaluation of a school program should be in terms of the school's own philosophy of education; thus it was important to find out (and to help a school to determine) just what its philosophy of education might be. A series of questions was formulated, and school personnel were asked to indicate what they believed in theory—and what they actually practiced. Visiting teams checked on both statements, particularly on the practice side of the ledger. In most instances it was found that school personnel admitted that their *ideal* of education was considerably more progressive than their *practice*.[41]

The Evaluative Criteria were designed to contribute materially to secondary school improvement. How have the Criteria functioned in practice? A new edition, published in 1950, shows the vitality of the procedure. The Criteria constitute the major device now utilized by the major accrediting associations. The procedure is for the petitioning school to do a self-survey, using the Evaluative Criteria as guides. Then a visiting team made up of educators from secondary schools and higher institutions makes inquiries in the same areas for which the school has sought to provide answers. Any discrepancies are of course questioned. Once a high school is accredited, it may be tempted to relax; the next visit of an accreditation team is apt to be years away. At the moment of accreditation, a high school usually makes a supreme effort to be most of the things that the Criteria suggest a good high school ought to be.

The self-study induces faculty cooperation in the examination and improvement of the school program. Hopefully this would survive the traumatic period of the accreditation visit.

Interestingly enough, many current texts on school administration treat only cursorily, if at all, the powerful role of the Evaluative Criteria. Writers on curriculum tend to relegate the accreditation process and the Evaluative Criteria to a place coordinate with other general studies of the secondary school; yet in terms of influence and continued potency, the former are of incomparably greater importance. A new set of Evaluative Criteria is due for publication in 1960.

AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, 1935–41

As the depression deepened during the middle thirties, educators became increasingly concerned about the impact of this national crisis upon youth. The American Council on Education launched a series of studies of youth in 1935. A number of significant reports emerged, among them the exhaustive *Youth Tell Their Story* of Howard M. Bell and *Matching Youth and Jobs,* also by Bell.[42] One immediate outcome of these major reports, conferences, and other studies published by the Council, was a ringing statement, *What the High Schools Ought to Teach.*[43] This small pamphlet was the major contribution made by the youth studies for direct application to the school program. But what happened to the recommendations?

Another series of studies sponsored by the American Youth Commission concerned the problems facing Negro youth. Such volumes as *Children of Bondage, Negro Youth at the Crossways,* and *Growing Up in the Black Belt*[44] documented the tragedy and the dilemma of Negro youth. Today, even in well-annotated texts in the intergroup field, these studies are virtually forgotten.

Although such studies are of interest to the scholar, what effect did they have upon school programs? The overwhelming impact of the World War II emergency appears to have drowned out these voices of insight into the nature of adolescents and their appropriate schooling. Yet it is probable that the accumulation of these studies, and many others during the late thirties and forties, focused

sufficient attention upon the needs of youth to lend important support to one significant new trend in school organization: the addition of guidance and counseling personnel to the school. The George-Barden Act of 1946 which provided Federal aid to states for training of counselors may, in part, be attributed to the evidence piled up by the youth studies during the preceding decade. But the literature of education reflects a continuing struggle with the monumental problem of finding some way of making secondary education coincide somewhat with the kind of young people that are in school today.[45]

THE EIGHT YEAR STUDY, 1930-42

One of the most ambitious studies of secondary education undertaken by any group in recent years was that launched by the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association in October, 1930. The motivating concern of this study is ably stated by the following quotation:

> The Commission on the Relation of School and College was established by the Progressive Education Association in 1930 when the people of the United States were beginning to look upon their political, economic, and social institutions with critical eyes. They were insisting that each institution justify its place in the nation's life. Education did not escape this challenge. The Commission was born out of a conviction that secondary education in the United States could not justify the high place it held without rendering greater service to all the nation's youth.[46]

Thirty school systems agreed to cooperate in developing new curriculum patterns based on cooperative study by the school staffs concerned, with the assistance of whatever consultants the Study could provide. Some of the thirty school systems made far-reaching changes; some made very few.[47] Both small private and large metropolitan public schools were involved. One of the basic ingredients in the study was the agreement entered into by a substantial majority of American colleges and universities that any graduate recommended by the high school principal from an experimental school would be accepted for admission on the same

basis as other students. That is, experimental school graduates did not have to show a standard course sequence with standard Carnegie unit credits attached. This agreement, it was devoutly hoped, would free the cooperating schools to do massive experimentation with curriculum. To aid this process, various subcommittees studied and produced volumes that took up the educational possibilities in each of the several subject areas—volumes that even today make exciting reading for the "modern" educator. The studies of graduates of the experimental schools, followed into their college careers, showed to the satisfaction of the Commission that not only did graduates of the experimental schools fare well in college, but the more far-reaching a high school's departures from the traditional pattern had been, the better the student did. There were some dissenting voices from the outside, however, an example of which was registered in an article by H. G. Johnson.[48]

What effect did the Eight Year Study have? Many commentators on curriculum trends credit the study with having had considerable impact.[49]

A less happy report on the schools in the Eight Year Study, after eight years, however, stated that most of the experimental schools had reverted to type.[50] What were the causes of this regression? Redefer reports that the representatives of the fifteen school systems who could be prevailed upon to come to a one-day evaluative conference could not wholly agree on just what had happened; but all were in virtual agreement that the fine experimental programs of the Eight Year Study were, like Clementine, "lost and gone forever." Administrators, for political or personal reasons, had abandoned or cut back some of the newer programs; pressure and criticism from local community groups had forced other schools to retreat; World War II had meant that the effort involved in the experimental programs had to be diverted elsewhere; newer courses were watered down and became catchalls for mediocre students rather than challenges to the best.

Who can say for sure that the Eight Year Study failed? We can regret that its findings were published during the height of the effort in World War II; had these findings been published in a more peaceful period, perhaps more widespread change would have resulted. The Study is widely credited with initiating the

workshop approach to in-service education. Other by-products, such as the concept of developmental tasks, sociometric devices, a changed focus in literature, can probably be credited to the Eight Year Study. Other significant outcomes, such as reorganized high school curricula, more relevant college-entrance requirements, refined and creative devices for the evaluation of learning, did not materialize.

By 1950, even the distribution of copies of the Eight Year Study reports was at a virtual standstill. The basic volume sold only 6,400 copies, in a possible market of 24,000 high schools, 500 teacher-training institutions, and 325,000 high school teachers. Few of the volumes in the various subject fields sold more than 6,000 copies. The Carolyn Zachry volume on adolescence sold best—12,000 copies.

There may be many residues of the Eight Year Study, but the grand purpose was never achieved. College-entrance requirements are becoming more rather than less rigid; experimental courses in the high school are few and far between. Broad "core" programs, where they survive, are to be found primarily at the junior high school level; in many places they appear to be fighting for life even there. The creative and original evaluative devices suggested by the Eight Year Study in such areas as problem solving and critical thinking are found in research studies for higher degrees, and not in the classrooms for which they were intended. It seems likely to be a long time before high schools again reach the kind of educational freedom that was experienced in at least thirty school systems under the aegis of the Eight Year Study.

Conclusions and Speculations

Several obvious conclusions emerge from the material presented. The secondary school in America has developed as an institution with a number of distinguishing characteristics. Many of these undoubtedly emerged because of the necessity of adapting the structure to mass education; the result has been a fairly rigid institution whose central core is dominated by college-preparatory goals. Factors such as grading, the hour schedule, public control,

accreditation requirements, textbook practices, all combine to reinforce a pattern of education whose achievement leaves much to be desired.

The question, then, is: Can this institution be changed?

Efforts toward change have come from many sources. Committees and Commissions with august backing have made eloquent pronouncements. Efforts at establishing standards resulting in "Evaluative Criteria" have prodded schools toward change. Some experimentation, such as occurred during the Eight Year Study, has been on a massive enough scale to attract attention, but with inconclusive aftereffects. The status studies of schools and youth, such as those conducted by the New York Regents and the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, have drawn attention to needs and have made strong recommendations for change.

True, we can see some changes. New courses, some new course content, and some new methods certainly provide evidence that the secondary school is not standing completely still. There will be course-content changes in the sciences, in mathematics, and in the teaching of modern languages in the next few years. We may predict that students of high ability will receive increasing attention. We may predict that such forces as the National Merit Scholarship program will move increasingly to the fore as gauges by which a school's achievements are to be measured.

Yet with a world as changed as this one is, whose future undoubtedly suggests even greater changes, one can certainly ask if the secondary school in America has changed enough, or has the elements present that will provide the kind of corrective change necessary.

The answer, at the moment, is "No." Secondary schools have not changed much, and there are few elements present that make one optimistic about the kind, the direction, or the amount of change that will take place in the foreseeable future.

If there is any hope that something as crucial as citizenship education (and all that is subsumed under the development of democratic loyalties, behavior, and knowledge) is to remain as a major educational goal, educators must be a great deal more cognizant of the following questions than they are now:

workshop approach to in-service education. Other by-products, such as the concept of developmental tasks, sociometric devices, a changed focus in literature, can probably be credited to the Eight Year Study. Other significant outcomes, such as reorganized high school curricula, more relevant college-entrance requirements, refined and creative devices for the evaluation of learning, did not materialize.

By 1950, even the distribution of copies of the Eight Year Study reports was at a virtual standstill. The basic volume sold only 6,400 copies, in a possible market of 24,000 high schools, 500 teacher-training institutions, and 325,000 high school teachers. Few of the volumes in the various subject fields sold more than 6,000 copies. The Carolyn Zachry volume on adolescence sold best—12,000 copies.

There may be many residues of the Eight Year Study, but the grand purpose was never achieved. College-entrance requirements are becoming more rather than less rigid; experimental courses in the high school are few and far between. Broad "core" programs, where they survive, are to be found primarily at the junior high school level; in many places they appear to be fighting for life even there. The creative and original evaluative devices suggested by the Eight Year Study in such areas as problem solving and critical thinking are found in research studies for higher degrees, and not in the classrooms for which they were intended. It seems likely to be a long time before high schools again reach the kind of educational freedom that was experienced in at least thirty school systems under the aegis of the Eight Year Study.

Conclusions and Speculations

Several obvious conclusions emerge from the material presented. The secondary school in America has developed as an institution with a number of distinguishing characteristics. Many of these undoubtedly emerged because of the necessity of adapting the structure to mass education; the result has been a fairly rigid institution whose central core is dominated by college-preparatory goals. Factors such as grading, the hour schedule, public control,

accreditation requirements, textbook practices, all combine to reinforce a pattern of education whose achievement leaves much to be desired.

The question, then, is: Can this institution be changed?

Efforts toward change have come from many sources. Committees and Commissions with august backing have made eloquent pronouncements. Efforts at establishing standards resulting in "Evaluative Criteria" have prodded schools toward change. Some experimentation, such as occurred during the Eight Year Study, has been on a massive enough scale to attract attention, but with inconclusive aftereffects. The status studies of schools and youth, such as those conducted by the New York Regents and the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, have drawn attention to needs and have made strong recommendations for change.

True, we can see some changes. New courses, some new course content, and some new methods certainly provide evidence that the secondary school is not standing completely still. There will be course-content changes in the sciences, in mathematics, and in the teaching of modern languages in the next few years. We may predict that students of high ability will receive increasing attention. We may predict that such forces as the National Merit Scholarship program will move increasingly to the fore as gauges by which a school's achievements are to be measured.

Yet with a world as changed as this one is, whose future undoubtedly suggests even greater changes, one can certainly ask if the secondary school in America has changed enough, or has the elements present that will provide the kind of corrective change necessary.

The answer, at the moment, is "No." Secondary schools have not changed much, and there are few elements present that make one optimistic about the kind, the direction, or the amount of change that will take place in the foreseeable future.

If there is any hope that something as crucial as citizenship education (and all that is subsumed under the development of democratic loyalties, behavior, and knowledge) is to remain as a major educational goal, educators must be a great deal more cognizant of the following questions than they are now:

1. What are the barriers to change in the secondary school?
2. How is change achieved in an institution? How is it achieved in a secondary school?
3. What are the implications for such changes for other coordinate parts of the educational structure—teacher education (pre-service and in-service)? administrator education (pre-service and in-service)? How are changes achieved at these levels? What are the barriers to change?[51]

A word of moderation should be inserted here. While the secondary school appears to be fairly rigid in many of its institutional arrangements, it must not be denied that change is possible and has occurred. Today's high school, while it bears a striking resemblance to the high school of fifty years ago, has also undergone some significant changes. A number of schools, for instance, are reported each year which innovate and experiment with programs to meet the needs of youth and society more adequately. Thousands of teachers engage in curriculum-revision programs each decade. New services and new course sequences reach toward the ideal of education tailored to individual differences and maximum individual growth.[52]

What are the elements that are present which can and do lead toward change? High schools that have made significent changes should be studied intensively to determine, if possible, the elements that led them to improve. Under what conditions can a high school change? How enduring are such changes? We are, of course, particularly concerned with changes that appear to develop more adequate citizen behaviors. But before such changes can be proposed on any wide basis with any general acceptance, it is necessary to diagnose the secondary school accurately enough to know where, institutionally, the structure is permeable, under what conditions change can take place, what kind of change is most likely to be enduring, and what changes may make a real difference in the education of youth.

It is all well and good to list fine goals and enunciate great visions, yet the story of educational change is not encouraging. Quite a good deal is known about the learning process, about adolescents, about social forces as they impinge on individual and group value systems and behaviors. The really operational ques-

tion is: how do we go about deliberately seeking to effect change in such a tremendous and diverse operation as that of secondary education in the United States so that what is done is more closely related to what we know?

NOTES

1. Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association of the United States, *The Development of the High School Curriculum.* Washington: The Department, 1928. Sixth Yearbook of the Department.
2. Roger Barker, "Difficulties of Communication Between Educators and Psychologists: Some Speculations." *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 33:416-26, September, 1942.
3. C. O. Fitzwater, *Educational Change in Reorganized School Districts.* Washington: U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1953. Bulletin No. 4, p. 39.
4. Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1928, p. 189.
5. Department of Superintendence, *op. cit.,* p. 185.
6. "The secondary school generally . . . is relatively untouched by the developments of the first half of the twentieth century." W. H. Burton, "Education and Social Class in the United States." *Harvard Educational Review.* Fall, 1953, pp. 243-56.
7. Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards. *Evaluation of Secondary Schools: General Report.* Washington: Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, 1939, p. 2.
8. *Ibid.,* pp. 3-6.
9. J. Minor Gwynn, *Curriculum Principles and Social Trends,* Revised Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, p. 33.
10. Walter S. Monroe, editor, *Encyclopedia of Educational Research,* Revised Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, p. 1181; Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, *The School in the American Social Order: Dynamics of American Education.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, p. 740; Ellsworth Tompkins and W. H. Gaumnitz, *The Carnegie Unit: Its Origin, Status and Trends.* U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1954. Bulletin No. 7.
11. Grace S. Wright, *State Accreditation of High Schools.* Washington: U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1955. Bulletin No. 5.
12. B. O. Smith, William O. Stanley, and J. H. Shores, *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development.* Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1950, pp. 364-65.
13. Department of Superintendence, *op. cit.,* p. 234.
14. Monroe, *op. cit.,* p. 1182.
15. Tompkins and Gaumnitz, *op. cit.*
16. Thirty-sixth Yearbook of the American Association of School Ad-

ministrators, *The High School in a Changing World.* Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1958, pp. 202-03.

17. 1956 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *What Shall the High Schools Teach?* Washington: The Association, 1956, p. 59.

18. *Op. cit.*, p. 365.

19. Monroe, *op. cit.*, p. 716.

20. Jean D. Grambs, William J. Iverson, and Franklin K. Patterson, *Modern Methods in Secondary Education*, Revised Edition. New York: The Dryden Press, Inc., 1958, pp. 496-97.

21. Department of Superintendence, *op. cit.*, Bibliography of Studies up to 1928.

22. Educational Policies Commission, *Mass Communication and Education.* Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1958.

23. J. K. Flanders, *Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education #195, 1926.

24. Ward W. Keesecker, *Education for Freedom as Provided by State Laws.* Washington: U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bulletin No. 11, 1948.

25. Lynd and Lynd, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-97. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 197, footnote. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

27. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, p. 949.

28. Bessie L. Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.

29. Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

30. Robert A. Skaife, "Groups Affecting Education," in *Forces Affecting American Education*, 1953 Yearbook of Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1953, pp. 43-86.

31. J. Paul Leonard, *Developing the Secondary School Curriculum.* New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1953, Revised Edition, pp. 135-37.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

33. Department of Superintendence, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-89.

34. Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy.* Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1938.

35. Howard E. Wilson, *Education for Citizenship.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938.

36. *Ibid*, pp. 217-18, italics added.

37. Willard Waller, *Sociology of Teaching.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932.

38. New York State Department of Education, *Citizenship Education: Planning Guide.* Albany, New York: Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, 1956.

39. Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Gwynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-78.

40. *How to Evaluate a Secondary School.* Washington: Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, 1940, p. 1.

41. Walter Crosby Eells, "Educational Philosophy of Schools: Theory vs. Practice." *The Educational Record,* 19:75-85, January, 1938.

42. Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1938. *Matching Youth and Jobs.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1940.

43. *What the High Schools Ought to Teach.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1940.

44. Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1940; Edward F. Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1940; C. S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1941.

45. See, for example, Part I of the Fifty-Second Yearbook of The National Society for the Study of Education, *Adapting the Secondary-School Program to the Needs of Youth,* Nelson B. Henry, editor. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953.

46. H. H. Giles, S. P. McCutchen, and A. N. Zechiel, *Exploring the Curriculum: The Work of the Thirty Schools from the Viewpoint of Curriculum.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942, p. xvii (Foreword).

47. *Thirty Schools Tell Their Story.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

48. Dean Chamberlin, *et al., Did They Succeed in College?* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942; H. G. Johnson, "Some Comments on the Eight Year Study." *School and Society,* 72:337-39, November 25, 1950; Paul B. Diederich, "The Eight Year Study: More Comments." *School and Society,* 73:41-42, January 20, 1951.

49. Gwynn, *op. cit.,* pp. 365-69.

50. Frederic L. Redefer, "The Eight Year Study after Eight Years." *Progressive Education,* 28:33-36, November 1950.

51. Herbert A. Thelen, "Resistance to Change of Teaching Methods." *Progressive Education, 26:208-14, May 1949;* Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson, and Bruce Westley, *The Dynamics of Planned Change.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1958; Roy Sorenson and Hedley Dimock, *Designing Education in Values: A Case Study of Institutional Change.* New York: Association Press, 1955.

52. Thirty-sixth Yearbook of the American Association School Administrators, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER THREE

Citizenship: The Evolution of Educational Goals

DANIEL W. MARSHALL

For years, the subject of civic instruction has received the attention of teachers, supervisors, specialists, educational philosophers, and professional associations. Here, as in other departments of life, are evidences of law and chance, haphazard growth and deliberate effort.[1]

WHETHER THIS REVIEW OF THE GOALS OF CITIZENSHIP education during the past half century can be of help remains to be seen, but unless at least one precaution is taken, it will surely become a hindrance. What the reader definitely does not need and certainly must be spared is any relentless piling up of one list of goals after another in a way altogether suggestive of Mt. Pelion atop Ossa! Perforce, teachers and educators have to be planful people, and for that reason it is quite to be expected that their specific intentions—perhaps even their pious wishes—will be repeatedly set forth in various lists; but if this report is to provide any definite perspective regarding the development of goals, atten-

tion must be directed not simply to lists of objectives, but also to the ideas, convictions, and events which presumably prompted the adoption of these goals. The lists themselves must be carefully examined, for they constitute the primary evidence, but precautions must be taken not to become so preoccupied with the lists, or so restricted to them, that the underlying forces and trends which they reflect are totally disregarded.

Specifically, this report will try to show that the actual evolution of goals in the strict sense of revised objectives developing directly from preceding ones has been decidedly limited, even though the accumulation of different goals from decade to decade—one might say the accretion of goals—has been pronounced. No synthesis of existing goals will be attempted, because at least one recent and readily available list is both inclusive and representative enough of all goals to serve such purpose. However, some attempt will be made to explain why changes in announced goals as well as various changes of emphasis have occurred. Finally, a very few conjectures will be made both as to how existing goals may yet be revised and as to how the results of education for citizenship might conceivably be measured.

Formal and Informal Goals

To borrow directly from Howard Wilson, citizenship education is here defined very broadly as the necessary preparation of young people "to enter into obligations of membership in a complex and dynamic group, both in its political and broadly social aspects."[2] Although a defensible precedent probably exists for saying that citizenship is an over-all objective that must in turn be subdivided into a number of subsidiary goals, the two words "objective" and "goal" have at times been used interchangeably in civic education and may be considered to have the same meaning in this report. Furthermore, even though no sounder position in education can possibly be held than that of saying that a teacher's intention, no matter how well expressed, does not really constitute a goal until it is actually made part of the program, certain pronouncements regarding citizenship education will be accepted as formal goals without proof positive that they were definitely pursued. Or, to say

c. Learning to assume responsibility for activities within the school; *e.g.*, student government (1920).

d. Learning that the government must correct social ills and that each citizen must want to play his part in such an endeavor (1935).

e. Learning to take a responsible part within community activities quite apart from schools; *e.g.*, safety and clean-up campaigns (1940).

f. Learning that good citizenship greatly depends upon the satisfaction of basic human needs and the development of a mature personality (1945).

g. Learning that citizenship education, if it is to be effective, must immediately result in behavioral acts which can be seen, counted, and (hopefully in the near future) reliably scored (1958).

THE MADISON REPORT

Although many other subjects besides the social studies are now expected to provide lessons in citizenship, anyone who means to trace the development of civic education definitely must start with history and government. And for the first two decades of the twentieth century, the deliberations of The Committee of Ten were so influential throughout all secondary education that anyone who would inform himself as to how history and government were taught in high schools during this period must immediately turn to the so-called Madison Report.[8]

Since whatever was said in Madison, Wisconsin, late in December, 1892, surely influenced and may well have prescribed the sort of citizenship that was taught prior to 1915, it behooves us to try to eavesdrop upon those historic meetings. There gathered were ten men who knew how to think, talk, and write very well. One professor's name—and the majority of them were history and government professors—was Woodrow Wilson. Much as we may respect their names, these designers of the future at that time certainly belonged to an era quite different from our own. As an illustration, they repeatedly mentioned what was being done in German education, and there is no doubt that in their eyes the German schools were the best possible models. And further indication as to how times have changed would be the special mention which this Committee made of a teacher who had been

venturesome enough to take a high school class to visit a state legislature fifty-six miles away!

A very great deal was said about history, but very little about citizenship, at the Madison meetings. Presumably, these men simply took it for granted that anyone whose mind and judgment could be developed through the study of history would automatically become a good citizen. Only through its connection to a course entitled "Civil Government" did citizenship itself have any appreciable mention. And although these scholars expressed some dissatisfaction with the nature of the course in civil government, ". . . it is usually simply a text-book study during a part of one year," and regretted the incompetence of many teachers, ". . . very few of the teachers seem to be familiar with the subject," what they really deplored most of all was its lack of relationship to history. "In actual teaching it seems little associated with history. . . ."[4]

Granted that the Committee said that the study of government could be a preparation for citizenship, it did not wish to see courses in government attempting to teach practical ethics and rules of conduct. What it did authorize specifically was a knowledge of governmental machinery:

> . . . the simple principles underlying the laws which regulate the relations of individuals with the state may be taught by specific instances and illustrations; and the machinery of government, such as systems of voting, may be constantly illustrated by the practice of the communities in which the children live.[5]

CARDINAL PRINCIPLES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

While *The Report of the Committee of Ten* was most dominant during the first decade of the twentieth century, it was supplanted in 1918 by another bench-mark study, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*.[6] In so far as this new document said almost nothing about history, but included a great many remarks about responsible citizenship, it is plainly evident that a new day was dawning in secondary education. The brevity of this study definitely recommends it, because more than two years of wartime deliberations were presented in about thirty pages of print. Furthermore, to the extent that this report formulated the

goals of citizenship education for the next twenty years or more, it was a bold blueprint for the future at the time of its appearance.

After decrying the formalism of existing courses in government, the report upon cardinal principles urged that civics courses of a new type should be created. It asked that less attention be given to constitutional questions and remote governmental functions and that the attention of students should be directed to social agencies close at hand. Learning how to make a vocational survey of one's community was to share equal time with learning how a law might be passed over the president's veto. Not only the ideals of American democracy were to be taught but also loyalty to these ideals. Through civic instruction, students were expected to learn how to deal more sympathetically and intelligently with immigrants and to begin to consider other nations according to the ideal of human brotherhood.

Perhaps for the first time, the argument was made that all school subjects should contribute to citizenship,[7] and in addition to the social studies, English was specifically mentioned as a branch of instruction well adapted to the formation of social ideals and the development of insight regarding social conditions. The report upon cardinal principles also called specifically for group projects and socialized recitations which would give adolescents training in collective thinking, and it recommended that some designated teacher in each school should become a citizenship director. Given such an assignment, this teacher was expected to sponsor civic-mindedness through such activities as the school paper and the debating society.

Since this important report failed to urge that students become concerned with all sorts of social ills which were literally crying for reform, it was not a perfect blueprint of the future in civic education; but apart from what now appears to have been a much too complacent satisfaction with the *status quo*, its proposals were very far-reaching. In fact, it seems no exaggeration to claim that this publication, brief though it was, really gave citizenship education its major design for the first half of the twentieth century.

Civic education should develop in the individual those qualities whereby he will act well his part as a member of neighborhood,

town or city, State, and Nation, and give him a basis for understanding international problems.

For such citizenship the following are essential: A many-sided interest in the welfare of the communities to which one belongs; loyalty to ideals of civic righteousness; practical knowledge of social agencies and institutions; good judgment as to means and methods that will promote one social end without defeating others; and as putting all these into effect, habits of cordial cooperation in social undertakings.[8]

Student Action and Social Problems

Although such classroom tests as are extant from the 1920's indicate that considerable formalism may have remained in civics courses long after the publication of *Cardinal Principles,* other evidence certainly can be found to show that civic instruction was finding expression in student action very much as had been recommended. As never before, government bulletins and education journals throughout the 1920's were drawing attention to all sorts of in-school activities for which students were assuming responsibility—student councils, homerooms, school banks, and countless clubs. But what merits particular notice is that all of these early activities were contained within the schools themselves. Two decades later it would be as common an occurrence for students to learn civic responsibility through community action, often on an even footing with their elders; but before student government had been given a successful trial, it was hardly thinkable that the conduct of "clean-up, paint-up" campaigns, or the circulation of petitions, could be proper assignments for teenagers.

Understandably, the earliest advocates of student government certainly liked to think that they were taking a veritable leap into the dark; but actually those teachers who created the first "Problems of Democracy" courses did something far bolder. Who before had ever dared to teach young people the defects and limitations of their own government? And what was it but a complete reorientation in citizenship education when high school students were encouraged to try to do something about social ills, a few of

which probably could not have been even mentioned in polite society some thirty years earlier?

These earliest courses in the problems of democracy owed their sudden popularity in great part to the depression of the 1930's and to all the various controversies which raged over the New Deal. No one has documented this fact more fully or written about it more interestingly than John Mahoney.[9] At the same time, however, we should not forget that an important commission of the American Historical Association was making a spirited plea for an entirely new approach in the field of social studies. Under Charles Merriam, citizenship education may not have been an entirely lovely experience, but what a far cry it was from glorification of the nation:

> The large scale continuance of corruption and incompetence over wide ranges of political organization, and especially the newer developments of organized crime, racketeering and commercial fraud, should not be glossed over in any introduction to civic education. The material on this subject is very large and its color vivid. If the local applications seem too direct, there are always equally good cases to be found not very far away. New York can always take its cases from Chicago, and Chicago can fall back upon New York if necessary. These may be placed against the background of administrative progress, and the struggles between them may also be made clear, with the issues that are at stake.[10]

PERSONALITY FACTORS

Whether the main impetus came from psychology or social anthropology would be hard to say, but during the 1940's educators in general became more aware of, and just possibly too talkative about, all sorts of human needs—basic, felt, and predicated ones! Teachers whose specialty was citizenship education must have been affected by this movement in at least three ways. First, they came to look more critically at our existing social order in an attempt to determine how basic human needs were or were not being fulfilled. Secondly, teachers of citizenship could see more plainly than ever before that the progress of students toward specific objectives might well depend upon variant orientations in

personality. And, not least of all, emotional adjustment from earliest childhood came to be recognized as a most essential, even though a previously neglected, ingredient of citizenship education. Inspiringly as Charles Beard may have written of "the fair pageant of civic instruction," the author of the following excerpt has insisted as forcefully as anyone could that, unless human emotions are somehow attended to, the pageant itself will be continuously upset:

> The significant fact growing out of the Study is this: many teachers, parents, and community leaders have failed to understand that the quality of citizenship is directly related to the emotional development of the child. For example, many advocate more teaching of American history and government as a way of getting better citizens, not recognizing that some pupils who have studied these subjects at three different levels of school life still develop into bad citizens because parents, churches, and schools were not able to assist them in developing a satisfactory adjustment to themselves and to their society. Educators need to recognize that in developing good citizenship a most hopeful approach is to aid children and youth to be emotionally well adjusted.[11]

BEHAVIORAL GOALS

Timely as *Behavioral Goals of General Education in High School*[12] definitely is, it contains no new objectives of citizenship education. Yet it is a highly important study for the purposes of this paper, simply because it both confirms and clarifies previously announced objectives. It should not escape anyone's notice that the twelve general objectives of civic responsibility which served as one of the frameworks of this recent study were first promulgated twenty years ago.[13] Such stability is most encouraging, especially since the years between the two studies were hardly static decades! But whereas we were told in 1938 merely that "the educated citizen accepts his civic duties," in 1958 we have several pages of very specific illustrations which clearly indicate all the many things an adolescent probably should be doing, as well as an *approximate sequence in which they should occur, if he is indeed* to assume his obligations of citizenship at maturity.

If one's name happened to be Peters or Bobbitt, perhaps this

most recent study would be confirming in another respect also, because such educators, among others, were asserting during the 1920's that the only way to get a realistic curriculum in citizenship was by identifying the so-called good citizen, observing his behavior, and contriving school exercises that would produce similar characteristics.[14] To be sure, these earlier behaviorists may not have had as clear an idea of graded progress or maturity levels, but they believed as earnestly as any modern that if education is to be of value, it must sooner or later make some observable difference in what a person does.

Behavioral Goals certainly clarifies and illustrates abstract concepts better than any other citizenship study ever has, but it still can be accused of lacking the courage of its own convictions. If behavior is all-important, must not some sort of behavior be at times crucial? No one should object that this volume perhaps has enough outcomes, starred as highly important, to fill several busy lifetimes, but, seemingly, it should insist on a primacy of some sort. Are there not some small number of behavioral goals that definitely must be achieved at all costs? If it is true that the proverbial Frenchman will gladly die, if he must, for Sweet France, but will not pay his taxes half as soon, just how would *Behavioral Goals* change such a disposition—and for sure?

Generalizations and Critical Comment

In an attempt to be synoptic, the foregoing review of the evolution of goals has not given due attention to the socialized recitation. Strictly speaking, the discussion class is probably a teaching method rather than an objective; but for the teacher who believes in this form of instruction and really works hard at it, it is not simply a goal, but a consummation devoutly to be wished! Moreover, motivating young people both to think collectively and to want to speak out—or, as the Greeks put it, "to say their thoughts into the middle"—is so close to the very essence of democracy that it may well be the one goal of citizenship which we have come closest to attaining since 1920. Visitors from abroad are apt to be most impressed, if they are so lucky as to visit socialized

recitations at their best; and presumably, if we are making marked progress toward this very difficult goal, due credit must be given to recent research in group dynamics.

As was promised, the foregoing account has deliberately refrained from trying to make a synthesis of available lists of objectives. Two reasons can be given for this omission. First, if such a synthesis had been attempted, it would have resulted, unavoidably, in another list—which God forbid! But more seriously, several existing lists are either similar enough or duplicate one another sufficiently for one or more of them to be adjudged a synthesis.

The appendix of this chapter presents a good example. It has been chosen partly because it is relatively brief and partly because it does make reference to personality development, leadership training, and an awareness of free enterprise, three objectives which do not everywhere appear. The writer does not feel that these objectives are arranged in an order as close to their degree of cruciality as they perhaps might be, and he likes to see objectives which are clearly subdivided into knowledge, attitudes, and skills; *but,* despite such quibbles, these particular objectives have at least been test-fired in actual classrooms.

And, now, to quibble much more about the whole citizenship movement—hopefully to its own benefit, however. The next few paragraphs lack documentation altogether, but they do contain these blunt warnings: (1) that unless civic education can somehow free itself from a crisis complex, whatever is all-important in this branch of instruction will be repeatedly sacrificed for whatever seems urgent; (2) that citizenship education can well afford to develop a much tougher-minded critical faculty, simply because it seems to be an area where new pedagogical ideas, both good and bad, germinate rapidly; and (3) unless some primacy of objectives can be asserted, even mistakenly, experiences in this branch of learning are not likely to be progressively organized.

Citizenship education would probably never have come alive had it not been for a national crisis. And it may not really come of age unless it starts to resist the impact of crises and portended crises more than has yet happened. Specifically, the Great Depression demonstrated the urgent need for citizenship education and

changed its emphasis. Prior to the 1930's, not only peace and progress but good citizenship as well were all taken too much for granted. But when the jolt really came, discussion groups, problems courses, and presumably NRA parades were quickly emphasized in order to reduce the pressure. What was the voiced fear? A trapped generation of youth may well explode!

At this time, citizenship education performed an appreciable service; and as a consequence, it has never since escaped being called to a national emergency. Just scrutinize successive yearbooks of the American Association of School Administrators, in case you doubt that teachers of citizenship have been repeatedly exhorted to play the part of shock troops. Most emphatically, if citizenship education definitely has an important commitment of its own, a main chance, so to speak, these repeated distractions constitute an outrageous exploitation. Furthermore, it cannot be denied that at least a small minority of those who write about citizenship education seem to glory in crises. Admittedly, the threats to modern civilization are as real as the wolf, but just to cry alarm is hardly enough.

Not only national crises but also new ideas and movements in education have impinged very quickly upon civic instruction. To their credit, the social sciences at the high school level seem to be among the first courses to experiment with innovations. As an illustration, it could easily be argued that the evolution in citizenship goals as described on the foregoing pages was to a considerable extent the progressive implementation of changing theories of education during recent decades. School activities in citizenship may have been some of the earliest outcroppings in high school practice of "learning by doing and undergoing"; the "Problems of Democracy" courses may have represented some of the earlier illustrations of "problem solving"; and familiar theories regarding the needs of youth certainly seem to underlie various personality considerations in citizenship education. However it has been, the point to be made here is that civic education would be greatly advantaged if its teachers were to develop a more critical faculty while keeping their present receptivity to new ideas.

Specifically, why can't the literature of social education become more rigorously critical? Petty rows are not wanted, but seemingly

citizenship education is too important for foolish notions about it to go unchallenged. If someone describes a course on paper that reads like a series of empty doings, or if students are being persuaded to think that they have begun to solve complex social problems that have been only glossed over, it behooves those people who really know better to speak out more sharply and accusingly than they yet do.

Suggestions for Study and Research

Sooner or later, citizenship always takes the form of observable behavior. Such a statement cannot be proved, but until it is disproved, it constitutes a legitimate first assumption. Despite anything which philosophers and other cogitators may have implied about "man thinking," about "inner illumination," about "attitude changes," or about "new understandings," it is here being argued that the real test is whether anything observable finally happens as a result. One year can certainly go by, ten years, or maybe almost an entire lifetime without anything overt happening, but unless "man thinking" finally sings a song, writes a book, plants a tree, or at least does something that can be seen and clocked, he has in all probability been either "man sleeping" or "man bluffing." Underlying attitudes and motives, however important, are of little avail unless they are somehow expressed. Love *finds* a way. The familiar adage is as prescriptive as it is descriptive. Thus, a first maxim: The goals of citizenship education must be set forth always in terms of overt behavior.

Secondly, in the practice of citizenship, as in any other human endeavor, it must be constantly borne in mind that men both share certain capacities in common and differ greatly as to potential achievements. Not all men can attain the same goals. That educator who fails to remind himself repeatedly that a goal can be universal only on condition that everyone can attain it probably does no real harm in writing his own favorite recipe for a perfect state. All the same, he is not likely to help the existing world very much unless his list of citizenship goals gives some prior consideration to actual educands, their varying capacities and disparate circumstances.

Just as existing citizenship goals differ in respect to attainability, so do they differ as to relative importance and cruciality far more than has yet been specified on any list. Albeit that a casual reader may take almost any list of goals in stride as so many words on a page, he cannot possibly teach for such announced objectives without emphasizing certain ones more than others, both consciously and unconsciously. As an illustration, some teacher would definitely insist, first and foremost, that the proverbial Frenchman just had to learn to pay his taxes. Comes the question whether there can be any common voice as to the relative worth of goals which at the same time gives some heed to differing capacities and circumstances. Yes, there can be and must be a common voice, else the likenesses among men will be definitely misprized for the sake of differences.

Truly, if citizenship education is ever to proceed satisfactorily on any wide front, some responsible group must suggest that certain goals be more intensively pursued than others. At the present juncture, any such weighting of goals has to be arbitrary, yet it cannot be absolutely rigid. Even more important, such responsible weighting simply cannot be longer delayed or avoided, unless everyone willingly concedes that the whims of any and every teacher are as reliable as the deliberations of a specially chosen senate.

Once the goals of citizenship are weighted both as to their relative attainability and their adjudged importance, every sort of inquiry must be launched to determine at what age and by what sequence of experience each desired behavior most typically becomes a habit. No matter how much various individuals will differ from the norm, for the sake of instruction it becomes imperative to know the pattern which citizenship development typically takes. The relationship of civic training to normal mental and physical growth must be constantly studied. As with other branches of education, some most opportune time to realize each citizenship goal probably exists, for the so-called teachable moment is by no means a delusion. But whether a teachable moment or a teachable year, this most opportune time has to be *discovered,* it is not as likely to be deduced!

Sound as the foregoing pedagogy may be, the major impasse in

civic education today stems directly from an inability, as yet, to measure the quality of citizenship. Espousing the measurement of an idiosyncrasy must now be about as "old hat" as anything one might suggest; but unless the quality of a person's citizenship can be measured with some degree of success, every bit of experimentation and research in civic education is likely to hinge far too much upon wishful thinking and make-believe. Some breakthrough in measurement is absolutely fundamental both for purposes of research and in order that civic education can have a means of determining its own consequences. How ironical that this specific research task, complex as it obviously is, still seems so impossible for the very generation that now confidently expects to look soon upon the back side of the moon!

As for measuring citizenship, it stands to reason that if overt behavior is insisted upon, scales of some sort can surely be designed. If the world is rational, those adults who are most often credited as being "good citizens" must perform certain specific acts either in a noticeably different way or for a higher fraction of their waking moments than other adults who are called "poor citizens" or just "ordinary citizens." Therefore, the behest is clear; these distinguishing acts or habits simply must be identified, observed, and scored. Definitely, some instrument has to be devised which will enable different observers to reach the same general judgment regarding an adult's conduct or to report accurately the extent of their disagreement.

Moreover, since men of comparable intelligence, education, and circumstances seem to differ markedly with respect to citizenship, can one not conjecture that any person's potentiality for citizenship is a far more stable characteristic than has previously been recognized? Consider also how little time elapses before very small children begin to exhibit differences in empathy and initiative. Some are most eager to accept the social contract, whereas group welfare is one of the last concerns of others. If such differences appear early and persist from year to year, must they not be related to citizenship development and perhaps predictive of it?

A schoolteacher's dream it certainly is, but both at home and at school far more justice might prevail if every Intelligence

Quotient could be accompanied by as reliable an estimate of every youngster's potentiality as a citizen!

APPENDIX

*A Program of Civic Education: The Objectives**

I. A progressive approach toward that balance and maturity of individuality which is required for constructive participation in democratic society.

II. An adequate understanding of, and a wholehearted allegiance to, the democratic of life.

III. An understanding of the major features of the present international situation and the problems involved in the attainment of world peace.

IV. An appreciation of the rights, privileges, and protections which political democracy ensures, and a deep sense of personal responsibility for making them available to all, without unjust discrimination.

V. A keen interest in human affairs and a desire to participate effectively as a citizen in a democracy.

VI. A determination to apply intelligence to personal participation in political affairs.

VII. An understanding of the need for effective selection and training for political leadership, and a clear appreciation of the role of leadership.

VIII. The will to abide by the laws and support their enforcement.

IX. A grasp of the understandings and attitudes needed by citizens to make the American scheme of free enterprise work with maximum efficiency in our democratic society.

X. The earnest desire to develop and maintain intergroup understanding, respect, and good will.

XI. The will to translate into civic behavior the basic teachings of character education and religion.

---

*The Commissioners of Education of the Northeastern States, *Education for Citizenship*, 1952, p. 29.

NOTES

1. Charles A. Beard, *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, p. 87.
2. Howard E. Wilson, *Education for Citizenship.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938, p. 5.
3. "History, Civil Government, and Political Economy," *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies,* National Education Association. New York: American Book Company, 1894, pp. 163-201.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 179.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 180.
6. *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.* A Report of The Commission Appointed by The National Education Association (Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1918, No. 35). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918.
7. *Ibid,* p. 14.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 13.
9. John J. Mahoney, *For Us the Living: An Approach to Civic Education.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945, pp. 3-37.
10. Charles E. Merriam, *Civic Education in the United States.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, Chapter 1, pp. 119-20.
11. Reprinted from *Schools and the Development of Good Citizens,* pp. 40-41, by Stanley E. Dimond, by permission of the Wayne State University Press. Copyright, 1953, by Wayne University Press.
12. Will French and Associates, *Behavioral Goals of General Education in High School.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1957.
13. Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy.* Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1938.
14. Franklin Bobbitt, *How to Make a Curriculum.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, Chapter 7; Charles C. Peters, *Objectives and Procedures in Civil Education.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1930.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Association of School Administrators, *Educating for American Citizenship.* Thirty-Second Yearbook. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1954. 614 pp.

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *What Shall the High Schools Teach?,* 1956 Yearbook. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1956. 230 pp.

Barker, Sir Ernest, *Education for Citizenship: A Lecture at the University of London.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1936.

Beard, Charles A., *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. 120 pp.

Citizenship Education Project, *Improving Citizenship Education.* Publication No. 29. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. 44 pp.

Citizenship Education Project, *Premises of American Liberty.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. 15 pp.

Civic Education Foundation, Inc., *Making Better Citizens: A Program for the Schools of America.* Cambridge: Civic Education Project, 1953. 31 pp.

Civic Education Project, *To Sustain and Strengthen Democracy: The Program of the Civic Education Project.* Cambridge: Civic Education Project, October, 1951. 26 pp.

Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.* Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1918, No. 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918. 32 pp.

Commissioners of Education of the Northeastern States, *Education for Citizenship.* Report of the Committee on Education for Citizenship, 1952. 105 pp.

Crary, Ryland W., editor, *Education for Democratic Citizenship.* Twenty-Second Yearbook. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1951. 161 pp.

Dimond, Stanley E., *Schools and the Development of Good Citizens.* Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953. 215 pp.

Dunn, Arthur W., *The Social Studies in Secondary Education.* Report of the Committee on Social Studies. U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1916, No. 28. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916. 63 pp.

Educational Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy: A Case Book in Civic Education.* Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1940. 486 pp.

Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy.* Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1938. 108 pp.

French, Will, and Associates, *Behavioral Goals of General Education in High School.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1957. 247 pp.

Gaus, John M., "Civic Education in the English Schools." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 182:164-72, November, 1935.

Holmes, Henry W., "*. . . the last best hope.*" Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. 50 pp.

Jennings, Manson Van B., *The Development of the Modern Problems Course in the Senior High School.* New York: Teachers College,

Columbia University, 1950. 180 pp.

Leach, Richard H., "Education for Citizens–Some Suggested Goals." *Peabody Journal of Education*, 34:7-12, July, 1957.

Mahoney, John J., *For Us the Living: An Approach to Civic Education*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945. 344 pp.

Merriam, Charles E., *Civic Education in the United States*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. 196 pp.

Merriam, Charles E., *The Making of Citizens: A Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. 371 pp.

Ministry of Education, *Citizens Growing Up*. London: H. M. S. O., 1949. Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 16. 55 pp.

National Education Association, *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies*. New York: American Book Company, 1894. 249 pp.

Patterson, Franklin, "Citizenship Education and the American Future." *Social Education*, 22:99-102, March, 1958.

Penrose, William O., *Freedom Is Ourselves*. Newark: University of Delaware, 1952. 256 pp.

Peters, Charles C., *Objectives and Procedures in Civic Education*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, Inc., 1930.

Peters, Charles C., *Teaching High School History and Social Studies for Citizenship Training*. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1948. 192 pp.

Report of a Subcommittee of the Committee on Social Studies, *The Teaching of Community Civics*. U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, No. 23. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915. 55 pp.

Rockefeller Panel Report V, *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958. 49 pp.

Russell, John E., II, "Building Good Citizenship." *Teachers College Record*, 55:313-20, March, 1954.

Snedden, David, *Educations for Political Citizenship*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932. 196 pp.

Thompson, Eleanor W., editor, *Citizenship Education*. Annual Proceedings of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies, 1953. 105 pp.

Wilson, Howard E., *Education for Citizenship*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938. 272 pp.

Womer, Parley P., *Citizenship and the New Day*. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945. 319 pp.

CHAPTER FOUR

Studies and Projects in Citizenship Education

STANLEY E. DIMOND

IN THE PAST QUARTER OF A CENTURY, CITIZENSHIP EDUcation has received the attention of many thoughtful educators. The strains imposed on our society by the events preceding and following World War II caused increased concern for the civic education of the youth of our nation. This concern is demonstrated, in part, by serious efforts to improve citizenship education through major investigations and projects. Considerable sums of money have been spent in these efforts, and many sincere, well-trained educators have devoted years to them.

This chapter is an attempt to describe and assess these investigations. It is assumed that each project was conducted with the best intelligence that the participants could bring to the complex task. While the attempt here is to be critical, the analyses are intended to be thoughtful examinations and not faultfinding excursions.

Each investigation was meritorious. Each offers some help to those who wish to carry on where these leaders left off.

Although there has not been an evolution from one investigation to another, the order of describing the projects is roughly chronological.

The New York Regents' Inquiry on Citizenship Education

In 1935, as Dr. Grambs has noted in Chapter Two, the Board of Regents of the State of New York undertook an inquiry into the character and cost of public education in the state. As one phase of that investigation, Howard E. Wilson, then Professor of Education at Harvard University, was employed to conduct a special study of citizenship education. The results of this investigation are reported in the book, *Education for Citizenship.*[1]

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The study attempted to ascertain the civic competence of New York high school graduates and of students who left school before graduation, first by examining pupils on a variety of points which seemed related to civic competence, and second by examining school practices which aided or interfered with the attainment of competence. Sixty-two schools were selected "as representative of the variety of schools within the state."[2] The sampling method is not described.

A battery of tests was given to pupils in these schools at Grades 9, 10, 11, and 12. Tests of American history, civics, contemporary affairs, social concepts, skills, and attitudes were included. Based on leads obtained from these tests, visits were made to twenty-five of the secondary schools to observe practices. In addition, a lengthy questionnaire was sent to the social studies teachers in the sixty-two schools. Analysis was also made of courses in the social studies prepared by the state. Based on these varied types of evidence, analyses were made to arrive at clues for improving the civic competence of the pupils.

CHAPTER FOUR

Studies and Projects in Citizenship Education

STANLEY E. DIMOND

IN THE PAST QUARTER OF A CENTURY, CITIZENSHIP EDUcation has received the attention of many thoughtful educators. The strains imposed on our society by the events preceding and following World War II caused increased concern for the civic education of the youth of our nation. This concern is demonstrated, in part, by serious efforts to improve citizenship education through major investigations and projects. Considerable sums of money have been spent in these efforts, and many sincere, well-trained educators have devoted years to them.

This chapter is an attempt to describe and assess these investigations. It is assumed that each project was conducted with the best intelligence that the participants could bring to the complex task. While the attempt here is to be critical, the analyses are intended to be thoughtful examinations and not faultfinding excursions.

Each investigation was meritorious. Each offers some help to those who wish to carry on where these leaders left off.

Although there has not been an evolution from one investigation to another, the order of describing the projects is roughly chronological.

The New York Regents' Inquiry on Citizenship Education

In 1935, as Dr. Grambs has noted in Chapter Two, the Board of Regents of the State of New York undertook an inquiry into the character and cost of public education in the state. As one phase of that investigation, Howard E. Wilson, then Professor of Education at Harvard University, was employed to conduct a special study of citizenship education. The results of this investigation are reported in the book, *Education for Citizenship.*[1]

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The study attempted to ascertain the civic competence of New York high school graduates and of students who left school before graduation, first by examining pupils on a variety of points which seemed related to civic competence, and second by examining school practices which aided or interfered with the attainment of competence. Sixty-two schools were selected "as representative of the variety of schools within the state."[2] The sampling method is not described.

A battery of tests was given to pupils in these schools at Grades 9, 10, 11, and 12. Tests of American history, civics, contemporary affairs, social concepts, skills, and attitudes were included. Based on leads obtained from these tests, visits were made to twenty-five of the secondary schools to observe practices. In addition, a lengthy questionnaire was sent to the social studies teachers in the sixty-two schools. Analysis was also made of courses in the social studies prepared by the state. Based on these varied types of evidence, analyses were made to arrive at clues for improving the civic competence of the pupils.

Learning the Ways of Democracy

During the school year 1939-40, the Educational Policies Commission conducted an investigation of civic education in American high schools. The investigation was an outgrowth of the Commission's conviction that "the development of an active and intelligent loyalty to democracy is clearly the nation's supreme problem in education and in defense. . . ."[5] The Commission had come into existence five years earlier, during the depression. With the rise of Hitler and other dictators, the Commission felt great responsibility for the nature of democratic education. It was believed that the high schools needed to improve their programs for developing citizens.

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The plan of the investigation provided for five insightful observers to visit ninety high schools that were purported to have good civic education programs and practices. The high schools visited were selected from recommendations made by some one hundred consultants to the Commission. The visitors spent from one to several days in each school observing practices and interviewing students, teachers, laymen, and administrators. Following this period of observation, the staff of visitors wrote the report, *Learning the Ways of Democracy,* which described and analyzed these good civic education practices.

The assumptions underlying this investigation were: (1) The consultants and investigators were able to discern educational practices that would aid in producing good citizens. (2) These good practices would spread to other schools through their descriptions in a book, and through the attendant publicity which accompanied its publication.

DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP

The investigators report that in seeking good practices they had certain "ideas as to what the democratic spirit is and how its presence can be recognized."[6] These ideas are described in Chapter I of *Learning the Ways of Democracy* as "The Hallmarks of Democratic Education." They are:

1. Democratic education has as its central purpose the welfare of all the people.

2. Democratic education serves each individual with justice, seeking to provide equal educational opportunity for all, regardless of intelligence, race, religion, social status, economic condition, or vocational plans.

3. Democratic education respects the basic civil liberties in practice and clarifies their meaning through study.

4. Democratic education is concerned for the maintenance of those economic, political, and social conditions which are necessary for the enjoyment of liberty.

5. Democratic education guarantees to all the members of its community the right to share in determining the purposes and policies of education.

6. Democratic education uses democratic methods, in classroom, administration, and student activities.

7. Democratic education makes efficient use of personnel, teaching respect for competence in positions of responsibility.

8. Democratic education teaches through experience that every privilege entails a corresponding duty, every authority a responsibility, every responsibility an accounting to the group which granted the privilege or authority.

9. Democratic education demonstrates that far-reaching changes, of both policies and procedures, can be carried out in orderly and peaceful fashion, when the decisions to make the changes have been reached by democratic means.

10. Democratic education liberates and uses the intelligence of all.

11. Democratic education equips citizens with the materials of knowledge needed for democratic efficiency.

12. Democratic education promotes loyalty to democracy by stressing positive understanding and appreciation and by summoning youth to service in a great cause.[7]

Employing these "hallmarks" as a crude filter, descriptions were made of the good practices observed in one or more schools.

GOOD CIVIC EDUCATION PRACTICES

The desirable practices reported by the investigators were classified as follows:

A. Practices related to courses of study (Chapter II)
   1. The meaning of democracy
   2. The civil liberties
   3. The dignity and worth of the individual
   4. Economic trends and problems
   5. Social welfare
   6. Political institutions and processes
B. Classroom teaching (Chapter III)
   1. Cooperative action for the common good
   2. Concern for the welfare of each individual
   3. Participation of all in planning, executing, and evaluating
   4. The experimental method of free inquiry
   5. Freedom for the discussion of controversial subjects
   6. Responsibility, a requisite of freedom
C. Out-of-class school activities (Chapter IV)
   1. Students' control of students' conduct
   2. Students' services to the school
   3. Students' friendly services to other students
   4. Influencing public opinion in the school
   5. Recreational and social activities
   6. Inclusive student organizations
   7. The selection and use of leaders
   8. Responsibility in the use of public funds
   9. Motivations of students' service activities
D. School activities in the community (Chapter V)
   1. Community service projects
   2. Field trips
   3. Community surveys
E. Administration (Chapter VI)
   1. Cooperative procedures in developing educational policies
   2. Promoting the professional growth of teachers
   3. Planning related to budgets, personnel administration, and buildings
   4. Including lay citizens in policy-making
   5. Sustaining free and impartial inquiry
   6. Providing equal educational opportunities for all students
F. Evaluation of outcomes (Chapter VII)
   1. Including citizenship information on cumulative records
   2. Testing programs
   3. Making citizenship marks more accurate and specific
   4. Student participation in evaluation

INFLUENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Viewed over a period of nearly two decades, it seems clear that this investigation has had great influence on citizenship education. The many-sided character of the above classification of practices, when coupled with the numerous specific examples of practices, has had great impact. For one thing, there came increased recognition that citizenship education involved the entire school and not just the social studies program or a special character-education program. Again, the idea of collecting and disseminating good practices in citizenship education has been employed by other groups—for example, in the cases of the state programs in Massachusetts, Michigan, and Pennsylvania.[8] Parenthetically, it may be worth noting that the recent study of high schools by James B. Conant had a quite similar design.[9] Finally, at least two other citizenship education studies, the Detroit Citizenship Education Study and the Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University, which will be discussed later, were founded on ideas originating in *Learning the Ways of Democracy*.

FUTURE LEADS

There are some facets of this study, of course, that still warrant further investigation. Among these leads for possible exploration are:

1. Investigations of the meaning of democracy and the development of democratic attitudes. The only experimental work done in the Educational Policies Commission study was a collection of brief essays on the meaning of democracy. It was found that "over two-thirds [of the students] defined democracy solely in terms of rights and liberties without reference to the responsibilities entailed."[10]
2. The investigators reported that "the approach to civic education is, in virtually all schools, fragmentary and incomplete, even within the course of study."[11] Procedures for getting well-rounded citizenship programs in more schools are still needed.
3. The relation of out-of-class activities to class activities needs study. Does one defeat the other? Or does one enhance the other? The investigators reported that "if the school can bring more of significant 'out-of-school' experiences into the school

program, it will infuse more vitality into all its activities."[12] Is this true? Can the statement be proved?

4. Little in the way of experimentation was found in these schools. As was stated, "All were experiencing; none was experimenting."[13] Suggestions for needed studies were described as follows: ". . . no schools were found which make long-time studies of the citizenship of their graduates, although comparable vocational follow-up studies are quite common. Other studies are needed in many areas which are as yet relatively unexplored; for example, the uses of radio and motion pictures; the uses and misuses of rituals, symbols, slogans, drama, pageantry to develop emotional attachments to democracy; continuity and development in citizenship education from elementary school, through high school, and on to college or post high-school adult life; how to relate vocational education and citizenship education effectively; and methods of bringing representative lay citizens into the process of planning and evaluating citizenship education."[14]

The Stanford Investigations

At Stanford University, under the auspices of the School of Education, two studies of citizenship education have been undertaken. From 1939 to 1943 there was the Stanford Social Education investigation, the results of which were published in the volume *Education for Social Competence*.[15] A decade later a second series of investigations, into American ideals, was undertaken. The results of these studies are reported in a series of doctoral dissertations.

THE DESIGN OF THE INVESTIGATIONS

Eighteen high schools in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast regions were selected to participate in the Social Education investigation. Consultants assisted the local schools in the in-service education of teachers under the assumption that such cooperative procedures would result in curriculum changes that might be tested experimentally. In the main, social studies teachers received central attention. In the resulting experimental work, chief emphasis was given to problem-solving procedures. Varied teaching procedures received careful appraisal.

In the American Ideals project, several doctoral candidates received special aid in investigating a variety of aspects of the nature of these ideals and ways of teaching them. The assumption was that students would be better citizens if they understood these ideals.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Both investigations produced tangible results. It was found in the first investigation that the in-service education procedures employed did bring about changes in the teaching methods. Under problem-solving procedures there was significant growth in student work habits, study skills, and library techniques. The problem-solving procedures were more effective than the topical methods, but comparisons with chronological procedures were not conclusive. The competence of the teacher in the method was crucial.[16]

In the American Ideals project it was found that:

1. When respect for the worth of each individual was the keynote, high school students accepted the American ideals.[17]
2. Members of a wide range of adult community organizations had common ideals.[18]
3. Materials for teaching these ideals were developed around unfinished problem stories and through the use of socio-dramas. These procedures seemed to be effective in teaching the ideals —particularly when the teacher was a good discussion leader.[19]

SIGNIFICANCE AND LEADS

The Stanford investigations have been influential in the west-coast region and have had considerable nationwide influence. The investigations into problem solving have helped to stimulate a continued interest in this teaching procedure. The Ideals project seems to have had less influence—in part because the data are available only in doctoral dissertations. It is worthy of note that some of the work of the Ideals project was undertaken in elementary schools—one of the few investigations to recognize the importance of the elementary school in citizenship education. These investigations highlight the opportunities that exist to study the influence of teaching methods. Problem solving, problem stories,

and socio-drama are only a few of the teaching procedures that warrant careful investigation.

The Detroit Citizenship Education Study

The Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University cooperated in a study of citizenship education from 1945 to 1950. The study had a twofold focus: an attempt on the part of the faculty of eight schools to improve their citizenship education programs and an attempt to investigate certain specific aspects of citizenship. The results of the study have been published in three books, *Schools and the Development of Good Citizens, A Curriculum for Citizenship,* and *Emotional Adjustment: A Key to Good Citizenship.*[20]

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Two major methods of attack were employed in this study. First, by employment of cooperative-curriculum procedures, a general, coordinated approach was made to improve the citizenship programs of eight participating Detroit schools. These schools were selected to represent the varied types of public schools in a large city. Four schools were secondary schools; four were elementary schools. The chief feature of the cooperative-curriculum procedure was the assignment of a competent person to each school to serve as a curriculum leader in the area of citizenship education.

Second, some specific practices, methods, and problems of citizenship were isolated for investigation. Some of these emerged from work with the eight schools; some developed from previous studies and from insights of staff members.

A battery of tests was given in each of the eight schools at the start and the end of the study to measure aspects of the influence of the study procedures. Three assumptions about the method employed in the study were:

1. The place to begin improving citizenship education programs is with a particular school and its problems.

2. In each school, educational leadership must be given an opportunity to function.
3. The process employed for improving citizenship programs should be consistent with democratic values.[21]

CITIZENSHIP DEFINED

A broad definition of citizenship was accepted for this study in these words:

> . . . citizenship means the relations of the individual to his government and, in addition, his relations to other members and groups in a democratic society. It is recognized that the governmental phases of citizenship are of vital importance, yet the broader definition must provide the basis for the Study.[22]

Based on this broad definition of citizenship, five qualities of the good citizen were described. In summary they are:

The good citizen:
1. Is aware of the importance of meeting *basic human needs.*
2. Gives allegiance to the ideals of *democracy.*
3. Practices democratic *human relationships.*
4. Helps in the solution of *social problems.*
5. Possesses and uses *knowledge, skills, and abilities.*[23]

In the evolution of the study, some of these generalized qualities were analyzed into component parts for purposes of evaluation. These "frameworks" were developed for the following areas; democracy, problem solving, student councils, guidance, and service to the school.[24] In other words, it was found that as staff members worked with teachers, it was important to move from generalized descriptions of good citizenship to specifics that could be related to school practices.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Among the conclusions of the study are:

1. The concerted efforts by the participating schools to improve citizenship education programs resulted in no appreciable gains or losses in academic achievement (Meier, p. 394).

2. Emotional adjustment is influential in the quality of citizenship (Pflieger, p. 7).
3. Schools were effective in teaching ideals of democracy, but there is need for greater understanding of democracy and participation in democratic activities (Dimond, p. 209).
4. Schools are not giving sufficient attention to procedures in problem solving, critical thinking, and propaganda analysis (Dimond, p. 210).
5. The roles of the individual teachers and of the total faculty are of crucial importance in improving the citizenship programs of the schools (Dimond, p. 211).

INFLUENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE

A chief contribution of the Detroit study was in calling attention to the possible relationships between mental health, personality adjustment, and the quality of citizenship. The relationship of these emotional-adjustment factors to the type of local neighborhood environment seems worthy of more careful examination. The procedures employed in working with faculty groups seem to have been effective in changing the goals, motivations, and techniques of the teachers.[25] The effect of the study, viewed from a backward look of several years, seems to have been on the teachers involved rather than on the schools as social institutions.

FUTURE LEADS

Further study of the relationship of emotional adjustment to learning in general and to active citizenship is one fruitful area that needs study. The relation of guidance to citizenship education would be one example needing careful scrutiny. The attitudes of high school students—how they are acquired, how they can be changed, what desirable attitudes schools should foster—were explored only enough to recognize that they could become the focus for further effective investigations. The influence of evidence—in the areas of critical thinking and problem solving—on adolescent behavior is another area for significant study. The hypothesis held by patriotic organizations for many years that loyalty to democracy is achieved through appeals to emotion represents a type of belief about civic education that needs to be subjected to experimental

study. Similarly, experimental evidence is needed on the effects of teaching controversial issues, participation in extracurricular activities—especially student government—and different means for teaching about a free enterprise system. In a different sphere, since this study was conducted in a large city, there is need for more study of citizenship programs in the low economic areas of such cities.

The Syracuse Studies of Citizenship

Since 1946 the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University has sponsored annually a Citizenship Education Conference attended by outstanding school citizens of some 300 secondary schools in New York State. Two to four delegates, depending upon the size of the school, are elected by the students in the schools to participate. These student delegates have provided the cases for research studies done by some doctoral candidates at Syracuse University.

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDIES

The Syracuse group has assumed that the students elected by their peers are good citizens. In terms of intellect, academic ability, and leadership in school activities, this assumption seems to be well founded.[26] The studies have further assumed that investigation and analysis of these "superior" students will provide leads to improved ways of developing good citizens. The research studies completed have focused on two general areas: the meaning of good citizenship, and the attributes of good citizenship as exemplified in leadership.

The research studies have been conducted by doctoral students without the aid of financial support of the type available to other citizenship studies. Systematic study and publication have, therefore, been hampered because of the necessity to wait for the right graduate student to arrive who would be interested in doing a particular piece of the needed research. Dissemination of results has been only through the usual scholarly sources; there has been less impact on the total teaching profession than is true of some of the other heavily financed studies.

2. Emotional adjustment is influential in the quality of citizenship (Pflieger, p. 7).
3. Schools were effective in teaching ideals of democracy, but there is need for greater understanding of democracy and participation in democratic activities (Dimond, p. 209).
4. Schools are not giving sufficient attention to procedures in problem solving, critical thinking, and propaganda analysis (Dimond, p. 210).
5. The roles of the individual teachers and of the total faculty are of crucial importance in improving the citizenship programs of the schools (Dimond, p. 211).

INFLUENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE

A chief contribution of the Detroit study was in calling attention to the possible relationships between mental health, personality adjustment, and the quality of citizenship. The relationship of these emotional-adjustment factors to the type of local neighborhood environment seems worthy of more careful examination. The procedures employed in working with faculty groups seem to have been effective in changing the goals, motivations, and techniques of the teachers.[25] The effect of the study, viewed from a backward look of several years, seems to have been on the teachers involved rather than on the schools as social institutions.

FUTURE LEADS

Further study of the relationship of emotional adjustment to learning in general and to active citizenship is one fruitful area that needs study. The relation of guidance to citizenship education would be one example needing careful scrutiny. The attitudes of high school students—how they are acquired, how they can be changed, what desirable attitudes schools should foster—were explored only enough to recognize that they could become the focus for further effective investigations. The influence of evidence—in the areas of critical thinking and problem solving—on adolescent behavior is another area for significant study. The hypothesis held by patriotic organizations for many years that loyalty to democracy is achieved through appeals to emotion represents a type of belief about civic education that needs to be subjected to experimental

study. Similarly, experimental evidence is needed on the effects of teaching controversial issues, participation in extracurricular activities—especially student government—and different means for teaching about a free enterprise system. In a different sphere, since this study was conducted in a large city, there is need for more study of citizenship programs in the low economic areas of such cities.

The Syracuse Studies of Citizenship

Since 1946 the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University has sponsored annually a Citizenship Education Conference attended by outstanding school citizens of some 300 secondary schools in New York State. Two to four delegates, depending upon the size of the school, are elected by the students in the schools to participate. These student delegates have provided the cases for research studies done by some doctoral candidates at Syracuse University.

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDIES

The Syracuse group has assumed that the students elected by their peers are good citizens. In terms of intellect, academic ability, and leadership in school activities, this assumption seems to be well founded.[26] The studies have further assumed that investigation and analysis of these "superior" students will provide leads to improved ways of developing good citizens. The research studies completed have focused on two general areas: the meaning of good citizenship, and the attributes of good citizenship as exemplified in leadership.

The research studies have been conducted by doctoral students without the aid of financial support of the type available to other citizenship studies. Systematic study and publication have, therefore, been hampered because of the necessity to wait for the right graduate student to arrive who would be interested in doing a particular piece of the needed research. Dissemination of results has been only through the usual scholarly sources; there has been less impact on the total teaching profession than is true of some of the other heavily financed studies.

one cannot minimize the personal equation in recognizing the worth-while work of the Project.

Little is known about the effect of the pamphlets on student behavior, attitudes, or information. Teacher testimony and sales indicate that the pamphlets have been useful. Research evidence on readability, student acceptance, and effects on learning would be valuable. Information on places and ways in which the materials have been used is needed. The belief that the right kind of printed material will improve citizenship education is a worth-while hypothesis that needs verification.

The Kansas Study of Education for Citizenship

To improve citizenship education in the high schools of Kansas, a cooperative project was developed by the Institute of Citizenship of Kansas State College and the Kansas State Department of Public Instruction. The project began in 1948 and continued actively for approximately five years.

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The Kansas Study "is a project of the action-research type conducted cooperatively with twenty-five selected high schools."[33] The broad purpose of the study was to improve citizenship education in the high schools of Kansas. To accomplish this purpose, twenty-five high schools were selected on the basis of interest, size, and geographical location. These schools were aided by consultants who made regular visits to the schools; by books, tests, and similar professional supplies; and by summer workshops in which teachers, administrators, and consultants worked on the program.

The Study was confined to the social studies area. This decision was made on the assumption that, "although citizenship education is as broad as the total high school program and every phase of high school life has an effect upon the development of the student as a citizen, the social studies curriculum is unique in that it is the only part of the high school program whose sole purpose is the development of individuals who are adequate to undertake their responsibilities and duties as members of society."[34]

Within this framework, the Study attempted to:

1. Determine the objectives of citizenship education.
2. Evaluate the citizenship education programs of the high schools in terms of student progress toward the objectives.
3. Change programs where inadequacies appeared.
4. Evaluate the altered programs for evidence of improvement.

Throughout this process, the other Kansas high schools were informed on what was happening through bulletins and special publications.

CITIZENSHIP OBJECTIVES

Twenty-one objectives were finally decided upon to serve as the basis for the program. These citizenship objectives were grouped under four main headings:

1. The student should possess the knowledge necessary to good citizenship.
2. The student should have the skills necessary to critical thinking on the problems of citizenship.
3. The student should have socially desirable attitudes.
4. The student should have the habits necessary to good citizenship.[35]

Based on these objectives, five standardized tests and a check list were given to a sample of students in the cooperating schools at two or three grade levels (Grades 7, 9, or 12).[36]

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The evaluation program revealed qualitative differences among the schools of the Study. There was no complete success or absolute failure. Schools were moving at different rates in the accomplishment of the objectives. The following outcomes and conclusions were reached:

1. The content of the social studies program was altered by dropping some old content and adding new content. Undesirable duplication of content was eliminated.[37]

2. The senior high school social studies program seemed to be geared to serve those with a taste for academic work. Subject matter was not related to the lives of the less academically minded students. The better students were making the greatest progress.[38]
3. Where course content was not advanced beyond what had already been achieved by students, little progress was made. This situation occurred chiefly in transferring from elementary to junior high school.[39]
4. Progress in developing skills of critical thinking was not very great.
5. The social studies courses did not seem to have much effect in changing attitudes.
6. Students were acquiring the habits of participating in groups, but they had not acquired the habit of keeping informed on public issues.[40]

INFLUENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Within the framework of its operation, the Kansas Study seems to have been effective. The Study was well planned and well executed, and social studies teachers in Kansas were influenced by it. While the findings have import for teachers in other areas of the country, the spread of the ideas has not been great—in part, because of the lack of availability of the publications. There is little information available about the nature of the changes in courses or in teaching methods.

FUTURE LEADS

The weaknesses in social studies teaching highlighted by the Kansas Study resemble those pointed out by the New York Regents' Inquiry, *Education for Citizenship*. Critical thinking, teaching of attitudes, keeping informed on public affairs, and teaching the nonacademically minded are areas still in need of study and investigation. The Kansas Study also points up the need for two additional types of activity: (1) Those conducting special studies need to plan with some care the means of disseminating information about their activities. (2) There is a need for a clearinghouse and repository for studies and materials on citizenship education, to be made accessible to scholars and teachers in this field.

The Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University

While President Eisenhower was serving as President of Columbia University, his interest in citizenship education coincided with that of some officials of Teachers College, Columbia University. As a result, a large-scale program for improving citizenship education was initiated in 1949 under the name of the *Citizenship Education Project.* As a major project, the activities were carried on until 1958. Since the fall of that year, the activities have been incorporated into those of a department of Teachers College.

THE DESIGN OF THE PROJECT

The *Citizenship Education Project* was primarily concerned with the spreading of one good civic education practice to more teachers and more schools. This practice, which involved pupils mainly in out-of-class activities with a civic-action base, was labeled "The Laboratory Practice." The Project, by means of cooperation with specific school systems, trained teachers in the effective use of the Laboratory Practices. Workshops for teachers were held; a magazine, *Citizenship in Action,* was published; field representative were employed to work in specified regions of the country. A publications program was developed, including a detailed bibliography of citizenship materials; and a card file, *The Brown Box,* was accumulated, containing some three hundred examples of successful Laboratory Practices.[41]

In these major activities, the central aim was service and not research. The Project tried to diffuse among schools an improved teaching method based on an assumption that "Previous research has already shown that the teaching methods proposed by CEP . . . are educationally sound."[42]

Although the central concern of the Citizenship Education Project was with student *action* through the development of citizenship skills, in a project of this magnitude there were several other important activities. The CEP compiled a list of more than one hundred "premises of American liberty,"[43] derived from the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, court decisions, and

2. The senior high school social studies program seemed to be geared to serve those with a taste for academic work. Subject matter was not related to the lives of the less academically minded students. The better students were making the greatest progress.[38]
3. Where course content was not advanced beyond what had already been achieved by students, little progress was made. This situation occurred chiefly in transferring from elementary to junior high school.[39]
4. Progress in developing skills of critical thinking was not very great.
5. The social studies courses did not seem to have much effect in changing attitudes.
6. Students were acquiring the habits of participating in groups, but they had not acquired the habit of keeping informed on public issues.[40]

INFLUENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Within the framework of its operation, the Kansas Study seems to have been effective. The Study was well planned and well executed, and social studies teachers in Kansas were influenced by it. While the findings have import for teachers in other areas of the country, the spread of the ideas has not been great—in part, because of the lack of availability of the publications. There is little information available about the nature of the changes in courses or in teaching methods.

FUTURE LEADS

The weaknesses in social studies teaching highlighted by the Kansas Study resemble those pointed out by the New York Regents' Inquiry, *Education for Citizenship*. Critical thinking, teaching of attitudes, keeping informed on public affairs, and teaching the nonacademically minded are areas still in need of study and investigation. The Kansas Study also points up the need for two additional types of activity: (1) Those conducting special studies need to plan with some care the means of disseminating information about their activities. (2) There is a need for a clearinghouse and repository for studies and materials on citizenship education, to be made accessible to scholars and teachers in this field.

The Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University

While President Eisenhower was serving as President of Columbia University, his interest in citizenship education coincided with that of some officials of Teachers College, Columbia University. As a result, a large-scale program for improving citizenship education was initiated in 1949 under the name of the *Citizenship Education Project.* As a major project, the activities were carried on until 1958. Since the fall of that year, the activities have been incorporated into those of a department of Teachers College.

THE DESIGN OF THE PROJECT

The *Citizenship Education Project* was primarily concerned with the spreading of one good civic education practice to more teachers and more schools. This practice, which involved pupils mainly in out-of-class activities with a civic-action base, was labeled "The Laboratory Practice." The Project, by means of cooperation with specific school systems, trained teachers in the effective use of the Laboratory Practices. Workshops for teachers were held; a magazine, *Citizenship in Action,* was published; field representative were employed to work in specified regions of the country. A publications program was developed, including a detailed bibliography of citizenship materials; and a card file, *The Brown Box,* was accumulated, containing some three hundred examples of successful Laboratory Practices.[41]

In these major activities, the central aim was service and not research. The Project tried to diffuse among schools an improved teaching method based on an assumption that "Previous research has already shown that the teaching methods proposed by CEP . . . are educationally sound."[42]

Although the central concern of the Citizenship Education Project was with student *action* through the development of citizenship skills, in a project of this magnitude there were several other important activities. The CEP compiled a list of more than one hundred "premises of American liberty,"[43] derived from the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, court decisions, and

basic legislation. A textbook for secondary schools based on them was published.[44]

The CEP staff, in cooperation with training officers from the Army, Navy, and Air Force, prepared and tested instructional materials for use in basic troop training. A series of ten one-hour teaching units, entitled *Hours on Freedom*, resulted.[45]

At one stage, an evaluation staff was created. Tests on civic information, the premises of American liberty, and contemporary problems were developed.[46] The evaluation staff studied the effect of the use of CEP practices and reported that "teachers who are using CEP resources are getting results significantly better than the same teachers achieved by more traditional methods."[47]

Although the project devoted most of its time to work with secondary schools, there were some attempts to work with elementary schools and with colleges.

CITIZENSHIP DEFINED

While this Project did not attempt a definition of citizenship, the Project did draw its central direction from the *Premises of American Liberty*. The premises were classified under four heads: The Free Individual, The Free Government, The Free Economy, and The Free World.

CONCLUSIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE

From reading available reports[48] and from conversations with interested individuals, the following conclusions emerged:

1. The Laboratory Practice idea has demonstrated its effectiveness as a means of civic education.
2. On a nationwide basis, the Project was successful in alerting teachers to the possibilities of this technique. The use of the practice has been steadily increasing.
3. In an individual school, one or two teachers use the practice, but other teachers resist. The cause of this appeal to some teachers and nonappeal to others has not been analyzed. Differences in personality and differences in purposes are possible causes.
4. The basing of the Project on the underlying premises of Ameri-

can democracy has stimulated increased teaching of the basic beliefs of our nation.

5. There is need for research to verify the assumption of the study and to investigate the effectiveness of the means used to spread the ideas.
6. The Project has demonstrated that the schools of the nation can be made aware of a good practice by the methods employed. The time required for the incorporation of such practices into schools has probably been decreased.
7. The Project for nearly a decade has managed to help keep a central focus on citizenship education in the nation's schools. In a period when schools were being asked to do many things, this underlining of the citizenship goal is noteworthy.

FUTURE LEADS

Compared to other citizenship studies—in terms of financing, staff facilities, and endeavors—this project was a gigantic and complex undertaking. Although its complete impact cannot properly be assessed for some time, certain leads seem worthy of mention. Since the Project was primarily concerned with the spread of the Laboratory Practice, some assessment of the effectiveness of the means employed would be helpful. A careful evaluation of its effects on the information, attitudes, skills, and civic behavior of students exposed to it would be beneficial. The grounding of the Project in the premises of American life had advantages. An evaluation of these premises by scholars in the social sciences and a new synthesis of these ideas for secondary schools would be valuable.

Implications for Research and Action

The development of good citizens is a many-sided, complex undertaking. The investigations and special projects reviewed in this paper show that many roads have been used to improve citizenship education. This multiplicity of approaches is reflected in the varied patterns employed to investigate and improve citizenship programs.

In the analysis of these programs, various dichotomies appear. By way of summary, the major divisions on which future studies will need to make decisions are these:

1. What geographic area is to be served? Should a study be concerned with the nation, a region, a local area, or a sublocal area—such as schools in the slums?
2. Should a project be directed toward research? Or should it be concerned with promotional activities designed to increase the use of certain practices? Or is some combination of research and promotion possible?
3. Should a project be concerned with the total program of the school? Or should a specific aspect—such as the social studies program or the extracurricular program—become the center of attention? What is the relation of the life of the school to the specifics?
4. Should work be done with selected pilot schools? Should a sampling procedure be used to select schools? Should the schools be permitted to volunteer for participation? Or should all schools in an area be given an opportunity to participate?
5. What procedures are most effective in changing the citizenship curriculum? Have cooperative curriculum procedures demonstrated value? Would more authoritative procedures be valuable? Would national pronouncements help? What is the responsibility of the local school?
6. What relationships exist between the citizenship programs of secondary schools and those of elementary schools and colleges?
7. Would more attention to testing, instructional materials, or teaching procedures be desirable?

The answers to these questions will depend upon purposes, resources, and the interest of individuals. The studies reviewed show that the questions have been answered in different ways. To this writer, the following possibilities seem to have promise for future efforts to improve citizenship education programs.

ANALYSIS OF THE LIFE OF THE SCHOOL

A hypothesis appearing in several of these investigations is that the general nature of the life of the school seems to be a crucial

factor in the quality of the citizenship of the students. Support for this hypothesis is found in Jacob's recent report.[49] But critical examination of the "life of the school" remains to be done. Is this complex really the extension of the personality of an unusual leader—perhaps the principal of the school? Is the involvement of the students in service or community-action activities the key? Is the real causative factor in this "life of the school" the resultant of a peculiar amalgamation of unique students during a few specific years? It may be that freedom to explore, to try different things, is the decisive element in this school climate.

A study designed to identify the crucial factors that make for uniqueness in generally recognized "good" schools might provide some evidence concerning the factors that make the difference in the quality of the citizenship education programs of the schools. Such studies could include upper, middle, and lower class schools of differing sizes and in varied rural and urban settings.

STUDIES OF DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES

Citizenship studies have been interested in student attitudes, but little direct attention has been given to the development of attitudes among secondary school students. While there exists a considerable body of information about attitudes and their measurement, little of this knowledge has been translated into techniques that are useful to teachers. Among hypotheses needing testing are:

1. The attitudes of students are firmly fixed by the time they reach high school and are relatively unchangeable.
2. Attitudes of high school students are changed by startling or shocking experiences.
3. Attitudes of high school students are a reflection of fundamental, individual personality patterns.
4. Attitudes of high school students are changed by the nature of the social studies information they study.
5. Patriotic appeals supply a common base of attitudes for students maturing in the United States.

In our society, it will probably not be desirable to experiment with the teaching of "wrong" or undesirable attitudes. The design

of attitude studies will, therefore, need to be limited to investigations of the differences in existing attitudes and to studies of differences in effectiveness of procedures in developing desirable attitudes.

FOLLOW-UP STUDIES OF GOOD CITIZENS

Over the years, many schools have given good-citizenship awards of various types. The Syracuse studies reported above are one outstanding example. Some of these students graduated from high school long enough ago so that follow-up studies of their adult activities might be undertaken. Do these high school "good citizens" tend to be good adult citizens? What factors do they consider important now in the quality of their citizenship? Does participation, for example, in a boys' state make the participant cynical toward active participation in public life? Interviews and case-study procedures might be the chief techniques employed in such investigations.

DEVELOPMENT OF TESTING PROCEDURES

Citizenship investigations have been hampered by the lack of adequate techniques and instruments. Not since the evaluation activities of the Eight Year Study has there been a comparable creative period in the history of the secondary school. The deliberate gathering together of a similar staff to pioneer again in the evaluation of recognized citizenship objectives could lift the study of citizenship education out of some of its present difficulties. The merits of varied teaching procedures and curriculum changes may not be measurable without new advances in evaluation procedures.

INVESTIGATIONS OF HIGH SCHOOLS IN SLUM AREAS

Urbanization is a continuing trend in our nation. In the pattern of urbanization, the slum area in the central city continues to exist. The high school serving such a low economic area provides a natural experimental setting which has been largely neglected in American education. A combined attack by social workers, juvenile officers, and curriculum leaders in a few high schools in such areas could provide a new approach to the education of youth from

the lower economic classes. Out of such areas arises an occasional great civic leader, but from them also arise a disproportionately large number of "bad" citizens. An exploratory study investigating two hypotheses might be valuable. These hypotheses are: (1) Concept of self is the key to the future of those growing up in the slums. (2) Support, or the love and affection, of an adult is the key to successful growing up in the slums.

THE CITIZENSHIP OF GIFTED PUPILS

Pressures of our society are causing renewed interest in the education of gifted pupils. Much of the current direction of this movement is to give increased attention to mathematics, science, and foreign languages. It would be timely to study the citizenship qualities of the gifted. Nothing could be more disastrous for our society than to have the gifted become undemocratic and exploitive of their fellow men. The hypothesis that gifted youth tend to have superior citizenship qualities is worthy of investigation.

NOTES

1. Howard E. Wilson, *Education for Citizenship*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
5. Educational Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy: A Case Book in Civic Education*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1940, p. vii.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-39.
8. Thomas J. Curtin, *Making Better Citizens in Massachusetts*. Boston: Office of American Citizenship, Massachusetts Department of Education, 1955; Theral T. Herrick, *School Patterns for Citizenship Training*. Ann Arbor: Bureau of Educational Reference and Research, University of Michigan, 1947; Department of Public Instruction, *Educating for Citizenship*, Bulletin 242. Harrisburg: The Department, 1949.
9. James Bryant Conant, *The American High School Today: A First Report to Interested Citizens*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959.
10. Educational Policies Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 457.
14. *Idem.*

15. I. James Quillen and Lavone A. Hanna, *Education for Social Competence: Curriculum and Instruction in Secondary-School Social Studies.* Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1948.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-79.

17. Stanley C. T. Clarke, "Allegiance to Democratic Ideals of Selected California High School Students" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), Stanford University, 1949.

18. Roderick G. Langston, "The Ideals of American Organizations and their Implications for Citizenship Education in Elementary Schools" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), Stanford University, 1949.

19. Fannie R. Shaftel, "Role Playing in the Teaching of American Ideals" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), Stanford University, 1949; James Stone, "A Curriculum for the Teaching of American Ideals" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), Stanford University, 1949.

20. Stanley E. Dimond, *Schools and the Development of Good Citizens.* Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953; Arnold R. Meier, Florence D. Cleary, and Alice M. Davis, *A Curriculum for Citizenship.* Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952; Elmer F. Pflieger and Grace L. Weston, *Emotional Adjustment: A Key to Good Citizenship.* Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953.

21. Dimond, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27. Reprinted by permission of the Wayne State University Press.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 36. Reprinted by permission of the Wayne State University Press.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 37. Reprinted by permission of the Wayne State University Press.

24. Meier, Cleary, Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-56, 185-91, 225-38, 311-19, 337-43.

25. Sam M. Sniderman, "The Long Range Productivity of a Subsidized and Formally Organized Action Research Curriculum Study" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), Wayne State University, 1958.

26. It should be noted that in a follow-up study of outstanding school citizens in Nebraska, it was found that as adults some of the "good citizens" were decidedly poor citizens. In Nebraska, however, the students were selected by competitive examinations and not by peer election, as was done in New York. See Harold A. Delp, "The Validity of the Nebraska 'Young Citizens' Contest, 1931-1941" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), University of Nebraska, 1949.

27. Roy A. Price, "Citizenship Studies in Syracuse." *Phi Delta Kappan*, 33:180, December, 1951.

28. American Association of School Administrators, *Educating for American Citizenship.* Thirty-Second Yearbook. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1954, p. 368.

29. *Idem.*

30. Price, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

31. John J. Mahoney, *For Us the Living: An Approach to Civic Education.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.

32. American Association of School Administrators, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

33. E. G. Wheeler and O. F. Showalter, *An Evaluation of Citizenship Education in the High School.* Kansas Study of Education for Citizenship. Manhattan: Kansas State College Press, 1950, p. 7.

34. *Idem.*
35. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
36. Earl E. Edgar, "Kansas Study of Education for Citizenship." *Phi Delta Kappan*, 33:177, December, 1951.
37. American Association of School Administrators, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
39. *Idem.*
40. Edgar, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
41. Citizenship Education Project, *Resources for Citizenship*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955; Citizenship Education Project, *The Brown Box*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.
42. Citizenship Education Project, *Improving Citizenship Education*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952, p. 7.
43. Citizenship Education Project, *Premises of American Liberty*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.
44. Citizenship Education Project, *When Men Are Free*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1955.
45. *Improving Citizenship Education, op. cit.*, p. 26.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-33.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
48. A summary of the CEP procedures is contained in: Citizenship Education Project, *Building Better Programs in Citizenship*. Cincinnati: C. A. Gregory Company, 1958.
49. Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Association of School Administrators, *Educating for American Citizenship*. Thirty-Second Yearbook. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1954. 614 pp.

Citizenship Education Project, *The Brown Box*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. 300+ pp.

Citizenship Education Project, *Building Better Programs in Citizenship*. Cincinnati: C. A. Gregory Company, 1958. 200+ pp.

Citizenship Education Project, *Improving Citizenship Education*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. 44 pp.

Citizenship Education Project, *Premises of American Liberty*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. 15 pp.

Citizenship Education Project, *Resources for Citizenship*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955. 328 pp.

Citizenship Education Project, *When Men Are Free*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1955. 167 pp.

Civic Education Project, *To Sustain and Strengthen Democracy: The Program of the Civic Education Project*. Cambridge: Civic Education Project, October, 1951. 26 pp.

Clarke, Stanley C. T., "Allegiance to Democratic Ideas of Selected California High School Students." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1949. 183 pp.

Conant, James Bryant, *The American High School Today: A First Report to Interested Citizens*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959. 140 pp.

Curtin, Thomas J., *Making Better Citizens in Massachusetts*. Boston: Office of American Citizenship, Massachusetts Department of Education, 1955. 12 pp.

Delp, Harold A., "The Validity of the Nebraska 'Young Citizens' Contest, 1931-1941." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1949. 218 pp.

Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Educating for Citizenship*. Harrisburg: The Department, 1949. 343 pp.

Dimond, Stanley E., *Schools and the Development of Good Citizens*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953. 215 pp.

Educational Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy: A Case Book in Civic Education*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1940. 486 pp.

Herrick, Theral T., *School Patterns for Citizenship Training*. Ann Arbor: Bureau of Educational Reference and Research, University of Michigan, 1947. 130 pp.

Hollister, Frederick J., "The Identification of Some of the Characteristics of High School Seniors Selected as the Outstanding Good School Citizens in Their Respective Schools." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Syracuse, 1949. 214 pp.

Langston, Roderick G., "The Ideals of American Organizations and Their Implications for Citizenship Education in Elementary Schools." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1949. 225 pp.

Mahoney, John J., *For Us the Living: An Approach to Civic Education*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945. 344 pp.

Meier, Arnold R., Cleary, Florence D., and Davis, Alice M., *A Curriculum for Citizenship*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952. 413 pp.

Pflieger, Elmer F., and Weston, Grace L., *Emotional Adjustment: A Key to Good Citizenship*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953. 152 pp.

Price, Roy A., "Citizenship Studies in Syracuse." *Phi Delta Kappan*, 33:179-81, December, 1951.

Quillen, I. James, and Hanna, Lavone A., *Education for Social Competence: Curriculum and Instruction in Secondary-School Social Studies*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1948. 572 pp.

Shaftel, Fannie R., "Role Playing in the Teaching of American Ideals." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1949. 189 pp.

Sniderman, Sam M., "The Long Range Productivity of a Subsidized and Formally Organized Action Research Curriculum Study." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1958. 200 pp.

Stone, James, "A Curriculum for the Teaching of American Ideals." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1949. 300 pp.

Wheeler, Eldon G., *An Evaluation of Citizenship Education in the High School*. Manhattan, Kansas: Kansas State College Press, 1950. 41 pp.

Wheeler, Eldon G., and Showalter, D. F., *Better Teaching and Better Learning in the Social Studies*. Manhattan, Kansas: Kansas State College Press, 1953. 55 pp.

Wilson, Howard E., *Education for Citizenship*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938. 272 pp.

CHAPTER FIVE

Citizenship and the High School: Representative Current Practices

FRANKLIN PATTERSON

THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC CURRENT APPROACHES TO civic education in American secondary schools are described briefly in this chapter. An effort has been made to treat these in the order of their apparent importance in the actual operation of today's high schools.

Citizenship Through Curriculum and Subject Matter

The most dominant assumption about citizenship in secondary education is that it can be learned through the regular instructional program. An operating premise is that citizenship is based on knowledge and generalizations learned through course work whose subject matter deals with man's political, social, and economic

development. Citizenship is assumed to be a rational human function made operative in large part by the rational acquisition of information and generalizations about past and present society. Just how this can best be accomplished, however, is not precisely a matter on which there is complete agreement.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Citizenship, curriculum, and subject matter have been closely linked in the United States since the beginning of our national history. The Federalists in their political campaigning advocated the study of government. Franklin's academy used history as a vehicle for studying "ancient customs, models to be emulated among the ancients, advantages of living in societies, . . . interest in public disputes, and connected ideas of human affairs."[1] In the nineteenth century, secondary school curricula featured an increasing emphasis on course work intended to educate for citizenship. Of 167 academies in New York State in 1853, ninety-seven per cent gave courses in geography, seventy-two per cent in general history, forty-eight per cent in American history, and forty-eight per cent in civics.[2] After the Civil War the trend toward offering a variety of citizenship-related courses in the social studies became accentuated.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, as Dr. Grambs has noted in Chapter Two, curriculum-policy recommendations were made by several highly influential national committees.[3] The first of these was the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association, appointed in 1892. In connection with over-all recommendations for the improvement of secondary education, the Committee of Ten suggested the following social studies sequence for all public schools:

Grade VII:	American history and civil government.
Grade VIII:	Greek and Roman history.
Grade IX:	French history, medieval and modern.
Grade X:	English history, medieval and modern.
Grade XI:	American history.
Grade XII:	Intensive study of a special period, and civil government.

The Committee of Seven (1896) and the Committee of Five (1907) of the American Historical Association argued for the value of historical study and recommended a four-year high school sequence:

Grade IX: Ancient history (to A.D. 800).
Grade X: European history, medieval and modern.
Grade XI: English history.
Grade XII: American history and civil government.

The Committee on Social Studies of the National Education Association (1913), in contrast to earlier committees, was deeply influenced by the work of John Dewey. Its secretary was Arthur William Dunn, civic education specialist in the U. S. Bureau of Education and the founder of the community civics movement. The Committee published two books, *The Teaching of Community Civics* (1915) and *The Social Studies in Secondary Education* (1916). Tryon said some years later that it "would be difficult to overstate the influence of the report of this Committee."[4] From the standpoint of curriculum structure, several common practices in American high schools are attributed to this Committee's work.[5] These include the one-year course in early European or world history found today in the tenth grade of many high schools; the course in problems of democracy often found in the twelfth grade; the one-year course in American history required for graduation from most present-day high schools; the community civics course often given in the ninth grade; and the widespread use of the term *social studies.*

The most significant outcome of the work of The Committee on Social Studies, however, went beyond structural curriculum matters. The Committee raised the whole question of the nature of appropriate content. Its report declared earlier approaches to subject matter in citizenship-social studies to be wrong:

> The traditional courses in civil government are almost as inadequate for the last as for the first year of high school. Efforts to improve them have usually consisted of only slight modifications of the traditional courses or of an attempted simplification of political science. . . . The only feasible way the committee can see

> . . . [to proceed] . . . is to organize instruction, not on the basis of the formal social science, but on the basis of the concrete problems of vital importance to society and of immediate interest to the pupil.
>
> In other words, the suggestion is . . . to study actual problems, or issues, or conditions, as they occur in life, and in their several aspects, political, economic, and sociological.[6]

The Committee held that the basic purpose of social studies was the development of good citizenship and social efficiency. Citizenship was defined as encompassing the "world community" as well as the city, state, and nation.

Thus a major controversy about curriculum content and instructional philosophy was joined. The earlier national committees had spelled out ways that traditional subject matter in history and related fields could be organized for training citizens through secondary education. The Committee on Social Studies called for a new approach to civic education content that would use as its focus the changing problems of society and the life situations of boys and girls. In a basic sense this controversy reflected the struggle of American society to determine the proper role of secondary education as a whole. The earlier national committees were strongly oriented toward the college. They thought of secondary schools and curricula to a large extent in terms of classic college-preparatory functions for a relatively limited student population. The Committee on Social Studies, on the other hand, was strongly oriented toward the new conditions arising from the concept of universal education at the secondary level. Its proposals were an effort to adapt the study of society and citizenship to an increasingly wide and diverse student population, which could not be reached adequately by the traditional academic approaches of the late nineteenth century. Ambivalence about these two general positions continued to characterize American secondary education for citizenship after 1916. In 1928 one investigator commented that "about a third of the schools tended to follow the Historical Association reports; a second third tended toward the report of the Committee on Social Studies; and another third offered all possible varieties of compromise between the two offerings."[7]

The aftermath of World War I, the depression, and World War II introduced an additional factor that affected civic education deeply. This was the rise of pressure from outside the schools to codify into law educational requirements that were thought to insure good citizenship. Many state legislatures made the teaching of United States history and the Constitution mandatory in private and public schools alike. Legal regulations, plus a popular faith that more instruction in civics, geography, economics, and history would make our young citizens better able to cope with their time, caused a great increase in the number of secondary students enrolled in social studies courses. These developments led to the publication of an increased variety and volume of text materials for civic education and to the founding of special organizations designed to promote patriotism, instruction in particular fields such as economics, and the like.

Deep ambivalence among professional educators concerning the content and methods of civic education, rapid growth of secondary-education enrollment, and the rise of outside pressures resulted in considerable differentiation in actual curricula and subject matter. New study groups of professional scholars and teachers declined to prescribe civic education-social studies curricula for all high schools in the manner of earlier national committees. In 1929, for example, The American Historical Association, with funds from the Carnegie Corporation, established the Commission on the Social Studies. Between 1932 and 1941 the Commission published seventeen volumes of studies and reports. These, however, did not contain a unified set of recommendations as had the report of the Committee of Seven. Instead, the Commission urged further experimentation and the establishment of regional curriculum groups to develop programs adapted to local conditions. Differentiation received endorsement from other groups as well. The lack of clear agreement on appropriate content and curriculum sequence in education for citizenship was regarded by some educators as the natural by-product of freedom. Others called it chaos.

The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association in *Learning the Ways of Democracy: A Case Book of Civic Education* (1940) strove to make a virtue of existing circumstances. This document sought to arrange a wedding between

the view that democratic citizenship arises out of action and the view that it is found through study and thought.[8]

The Commission would not go so far as to specify the exact nature of the marriage vows, however. While acknowledging that "the course of study helps to provide the basis for citizenship," the Commission said that "no complete course of study for civic education in the secondary school will be described or recommended."[9]

Among promising practices, the Commission noted the development of new course arrangements that marked a departure from the single-period, one-subject pattern. These were the "core" courses in which work in social studies, English, and sometimes other subjects were fused into a single course with a block of time covering two or more periods of the day. The "core" approach sought not merely to correlate subjects but to provide time for an integrated approach to content through the study of basic themes and problems of human life. It marked a significant break with more traditional scheduling and was an effort to make it feasible to study social issues and problems, using student needs and interests as a fundamental point of departure. For a number of educators the core approach made sense as a logical extension into curriculum of the position established by Dunn and his associates in 1916. They considered it a way to establish central coherence in an otherwise fragmented high school program. Education for citizenship was seen as an essential component of the "core" approach.

The Commission, however, found no necessary relation between any given course-of-study pattern and the quality of the curriculum. The one essential factor, the Commission felt, is a teacher who "is himself a democratic person carrying well the responsibilities of his citizenship, and who is free and alert to reconstruct the curriculum in the light of the needs both of students and of society."[10] Thus the Commission agreed with other contemporary groups in refusing to prescribe a specific curriculum for civic education. Instead, it highlighted curricular diversity and featured the central role of the teacher as really determining the level of creativity and value in citizenship instruction.

There were those in the same period, however, who found chaos

and ineffectiveness to be more descriptive than "curricular diversity." In 1945 John J. Mahoney, in his book *For Us the Living*, presented a strong case against confusion over content in civic education. Commenting on the Educational Policies Commission's observation that some schools seemed to feel that "just any kind of education" would suffice for training citizens, Mahoney wrote:

> The reference obviously is to the failure on the part of public educational authorities to analyze sufficiently, in order to determine what civic education includes and involves. Lacking that analysis, we have been too much disposed to believe that almost anything we teach and do in the schools, if taught and done in the right way, will of course develop desirable outcomes similar to those quoted, and hence make for civic competency. That is not true.[11]

Mahoney asked a simple, tough question which it had become unfashionable to raise: "What *is* civic education?" Unlike contemporaries who shied away from prescriptive answers to this query, Mahoney tackled it head on. His book, based on the experience of a long career, sought to clear away the underbrush and lay bare the essential structure of civic education for the guidance of teachers and curriculum planners. He began with a generic, but admittedly abstract, definition:

> Civic education includes and involves those teachings; that type of teaching method; those student activities; those administrative and supervisory procedures—which the school may utilize *purposively* to make for better living together in the democratic way; or (synonymously) to develop better *civic* behaviors.[12]

As Mahoney commented, "that definition calls for some interpretation."[13] Directly and indirectly, the rest of his book spelled out what Mahoney meant. By "teachings," Mahoney meant curricula, subjects, courses, some of which might contribute greatly to better civic behaviors, and some of which might contribute less. Civic education, he wrote, "includes 'takings' from practically all school subjects; and from some subjects these 'takings' will be many; from others, few."[14] Mahoney saw social studies as a field where the "takings" could be great, but where existing con-

fusion must be resolved before a maximum contribution to civic education could occur.

For Us the Living did not present a universal curriculum plan for high school social studies. Instead, Mahoney argued that reorganization of the social studies to realize the "primary and dominant purpose" of developing better civic behaviors could best be accomplished by reference to a universal set of clear-cut objectives.[15] Mahoney attempted to meet the need for criteria against which subject matter could be screened for relevance to citizenship education by developing ten civic objectives. These were the goals which curriculum and subject matter should seek in providing civic education for all boys and girls:

1. An adequate understanding of, and a wholehearted allegiance to, the democratic way of life.
2. An appreciation of the rights, privileges, and protections which political democracy ensures.
3. A keen interest in things political.
4. The application of more intelligence in the conduct of political affairs.
5. Better political leadership.
6. A citizenry that is more law-abiding.
7. Intergroup understanding, respect, and good will.
8. Economic democracy—needed understandings.
9. Economic democracy—needed attitudes.
10. A translation of the teachings of religion into civic behavior.[16]

These objectives were explained in detail. *For Us the Living* suggested "teachings," methods, activities, and procedures for civic education in terms of these goals. The book presented a determined effort to clarify a field of education which was at best highly differentiated, at worst chaotic and unsettled.

For Us the Living had a number of consequences. One of these was the decision by John J. Mahoney and Henry W. Holmes to undertake the Civic Education Project, designed to serve and strengthen education for citizenship. This Project in 1954 became the Tufts Civic Education Center, sponsor of the present study. From the standpoint of influence on curriculum and school practice, one of the book's notable consequences was another publica-

tion. This was *Education For Citizenship*, the report of a committee on civic education appointed in 1950 by the Commissioners of Education of the Northeastern States. Dr. Mahoney served as chairman of this committee; its 1952 report was deeply influenced by his thinking. The Commissioners described the report as "not a course of study, but . . . a blueprint or chart based on which a course or curriculum can be organized for the development of better citizenship."[17] Copies of the report went to each school system of the eight northeastern states to "stimulate thought and action."

In other quarters the past two decades have seen numerous efforts to clarify the curriculum and subject matter of democratic citizenship education. Professional organizations, through yearbooks and journals, have dealt repeatedly with this matter. A notable example is the National Council for the Social Studies. *Social Education*, the Council's journal, frequently publishes articles relating to curriculum and other aspects of civic education.[18] Yearbooks of this organization have been concerned with education for citizenship through the social studies curriculum.

One of the most widely recognized contributions to the field was *Educating for American Citizenship* (1954), thirty-second yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators. Like *Learning the Ways of Democracy* fourteen years earlier, this volume presented descriptions of promising practices and avoided prescribing curriculum content and sequence. The AASA yearbook sought, too, to wed traditional academic approaches in citizenship curricula to the participation-problems approach that Dunn and his Committee on Social Studies had advocated in 1916.[19]

By 1959, this marriage, long proposed, was still not fully consummated. High school curriculum, content, and practice were still unsettled in terms of civic education. The proposals of the Committees of Ten, Seven, and Five still carried great weight in the apparent form of course work and curriculum structure. At the same time, the position and recommendations stated by the Committee on Social Studies also exercised a continuing major influence. In spite of efforts to reconcile these two principal trends, in practice they tended to remain at odds in the high schools of the United States.

STATE CURRICULUM PATTERNS FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

The state departments of education, by professional inclination and in many instances by law, have been concerned with curriculum patterns intended to provide civic education. In 1958, the patterns of civic education curriculum and subject matter reported by state departments as being generally followed were congruent with the historical development outlined above. All information received from the states by this study tended to reaffirm the assumption that important aspects of citizenship can be learned through regular instructional programs of the secondary school. Curriculum plans and courses of study indicated the continuing influence of the programs prescribed by national committees early in the century. They showed that curriculum patterns at the state level are frequently tied to course requirements which have been codified into law by state legislatures. While certain patterns appear both entrenched and pervasive among the states, there is some variety, too. Aside from courses legally required, state departments of education do not usually establish fixed compulsory curricula for citizenship. They give leadership to local schools and systems by providing suggestions, course descriptions, resource units or plans to assist teachers, and other aids. Local schools show some differentiation of actual curriculum, as might be expected. State departments, however, have risen in power in recent decades. Increased financial leverage on local districts has made for more attention to state department suggestions on the part of local schools. Increased staff and other resources have made a number of state departments a growing source of influence on curriculum development at the local level.

State leadership has leaned toward an emphasis on the traditional subject matter of history and the social studies as an appropriate curriculum for citizenship. This is not by any means exclusively true, however. Certain state departments have developed curriculum patterns for civic education built around the premises set forth by Arthur William Dunn and his associates. These departments have published bulletins, frameworks of curriculum scope and sequence, resource units, and other materials which emphasize the problems approach, participation as basic to

learning democratic concepts and behavior, and the important role of youth needs in determining what can be learned. Most state departments, however, like the Educational Policies Commission and the American Association of School Administrators, have sought to reconcile the traditional subject-matter approach with the innovations of Dunn and others.

With a sense of professional responsibility, a knowledge that universal secondary schools cannot remain purely academic, an awareness of local inertia, and a keen political eye on the legislature, the state department has tried to raise a curricular tent that will cover everyone. The following briefly indicates curriculum patterns for citizenship education generally followed in a number of states in 1958.

Reports from state departments of education indicated that, while many variations exist, curriculum patterns for citizenship focus on the social studies and tend toward a grade-level sequence that is more or less consistent throughout the country. In general, these reports agree with the following table drawn from a recent treatment of citizenship education:

Most Frequent Offerings[20]

Grade VII
- Selected peoples and nations
- Geography
- U. S. history
- Social studies

Grade VIII
- U. S. history
- Civics
- Social studies

Grade IX
- Civics
- Orientation
- State history

Grade X
- World history
- Modern history

Grade XI
- U. S. history
- Electives

Grade XII
- Contemporary problems
- U. S. history
- Government

In Illinois, for example, a majority of high schools offer, and quite a number require, a course in local, state, and national

government in the ninth grade. A majority of Illinois high schools offer a course (usually elective) in world history in Grade 10, a year of American history in Grade 11, a year course in Grade 12 which often includes a semester of government and an optional semester course in economics, sociology, or world geography. Law in Illinois requires every student before graduation to take a year of American history or of American history and government. It is the practice of high schools, therefore, to offer and require a year of American history in Grade 11 and at least a half year of government in Grade 12.

In Iowa, the state code requires that American citizenship be taught in every grade, 1-12, and that one full-year course in American history and civics be required and mandatory in all three- or four-year high schools. Kansas requires a two-year sequence of social studies during Grades 11 and 12, including American history and government. In Minnesota, American history is taught in Grade 10, and law requires that it include instruction in both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Courses in citizenship and civic education are required by Nevada state law for graduation from both elementary and high schools. These courses are usually taught in Grades 8 and 12. In Ohio, state history, geography, and civics, and American history are taught in Grades 7 and 8; community civics in Grade 9; world history in Grade 10; American history in Grade 11; and American government in Grade 12. South Dakota high schools offer a course in social studies with units on citizenship in Grade 9. In Wyoming, all high schools must teach American history and a knowledge of the Constitution. In West Virginia, three years of social studies are required, one of which must be American history. A ninth-grade course in civics is required by eighty per cent of West Virginia schools. More than half of West Virginia pupils in Grade 12 take a course in "Problems of Democracy." Idaho high schools require one unit of American history and one half unit of American government for graduation. Mississippi state laws specifically require teaching about the flag, about state and local government, about state history, and the history of the United States. In Utah, state history and community problems are taught for one semester in Grade 7; a year course in United States history and personal

citizenship is given in Grade 8; a one-semester course in world geography is offered in Grade 9; United States history and government are required in Grade 11.

In 1958, seventy-six and six-tenths per cent of high school students in Washington State were enrolled in various social studies courses which included one semester of state history and government, one year of United States history and government (required by law), and one additional unit of current world history and geography problems (mandatory under a regulation of the State Board of Education). Alabama state law requires flag display, reading of the Bible, temperance education, and teaching the Constitution of the United States in the high school. A course of study in Alabama requires instruction in citizenship in the ninth grade and American democracy in the twelfth. In Delaware, state law requires emphasis on history and government of the state, beginning with Grade 8 and running through the high school, but the degree of emphasis is not specified. Social studies are required in Delaware for Grades 7 and 8; in many Delaware schools civics is taught in Grade 9; history of the United States in Grade 11 is required by Delaware for high school graduation, as is a course called "Senior Social Studies" in Grade 12. Louisiana requires a year in American civics and a year in American history for high school graduation. Louisiana state law requires teaching the Declaration of Independence at the elementary school level and the Constitution and Federalist papers on the secondary level. Louisiana reports experimentation with core curriculum at the junior high school level, using social studies as the core area.

In Maine, civics and United States history (a required course) are the only social studies that enroll more than fifty per cent of the high school students. North Carolina high schools, according to the state department of education, emphasize citizenship in social studies courses for Grades 9 and 12. In North Carolina, a course in "Problems of Democracy" in Grade 12 is not required, but is recommended and quite generally given. United States history is a required subject in Grade 11 of North Carolina high schools and emphasizes study of the Constitution and our government. Law requires "instruction in Americanism, government of the State of North Carolina, government of the United States, fire

prevention, alcoholism and narcotism at the appropriate grade levels." High schools in Oregon are required to offer two basic social studies courses, and students must complete them successfully to qualify for a diploma. Courses required in Oregon are American history and government in Grade 11 and American problems in Grade 12. Most Oregon high schools offer geography in Grade 9 and world history in Grade 10, and some schools make one or both of these courses a requirement. In Pennsylvania, state law requires a four-semester or equivalent course of study in history and government of the United States and Pennsylvania during the last four years of a high school program.

In connection with patterns of curriculum for citizenship education, the New York and Texas state departments of education offer two contrasting examples. Texas reports that "there has been no state-wide curriculum pattern designated for strengthening citizenship education in our high schools. There are programs throughout the state in different high schools that have been developed locally. . . . There is no requirement set forth in the state law; however, accreditation regulations of the State Board of Education do include this [adequacy of citizenship education] as one standard for accrediting elementary and secondary schools."[21] In New York State, "the area of the curriculum commonly referred to as social studies is called citizenship education." In this connection and context, "the state education department publishes syllabi in citizenship education, Grades 7-12, prepared by state-wide curriculum committees. . . . The courses of study which implement state law are those for Grades 7, 8, and the one-year course in American history for the senior high school."[22]

The state department of education of Florida says that "specific education for citizenship is a primary responsibility of the social studies curriculum in both the elementary and secondary schools." To help meet this responsibility, the Florida state department has developed a recommended program designed to help both elementary and secondary schools. Recommendations for the secondary schools in Florida afford an example of contemporary subject-matter content and sequence seen by a leading state department of education as being basic to the development of citizenship through education:

In grades 7, 8, 9, and 10 the sequence of learning provided in grades 4, 5, and 6 is repeated at a more mature level. In grades 7 and 8 the geography of the western world and the history of the United States are studied in greater detail. In grade 8 the student is introduced to formal study of the Constitution. The state-adopted eighth-grade history text contains the complete text of the United States Constitution and its Amendments. The meaning of each section is carefully explained in language and concepts which eighth graders can readily understand. Throughout the text there are many references to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, explaining their origin, the rights guaranteed and the responsibilities these rights entail.

In the ninth-grade civics text there is a complete text of the Constitution also with explanatory comments. Civics takes up the ways in which people in the United States have organized themselves to live at local, state and national levels. The workings of local, state and national governments and their relationships are treated in great detail. Deeper study of the United States Constitution includes analysis and diagrams of its purposes and provisions, its history, how it was drafted, how it is amended, its strengths.

How the Bill of Rights operates at local, state and national levels in the daily lives of our people is brought out in many ways.

Grade 10, like grade 6, goes back to the old world. It is a well-known fact that one's own country and ways of living are better and more deeply understood through comparative study of the history and geography of other nations. In the tenth grade deeper insights and understandings are built, showing men's age-old struggle to learn how to live together under a government of law which guarantees the rights of the people. The historical roots of our Constitution in the Hebraic tradition, the democracy of the Greeks, the legal code of the Romans, and the Magna Charta are emphasized.

Grades 11 and 12 come back to a still more intensive and detailed study of the United States Constitution. Both a U. S. history text and a text on American government which are state adopted for grades 11 and 12 contain the complete U. S. Constitution with innumerable references throughout the books. The government text contains an entire chapter on the origin and development of the U. S. Constitution.

In addition to the history and civics texts the state provides a complete text of the Constitution itself for use in grades 9 through 12.

> The state-adopted textbooks are replete with suggestions to teachers and students for learning activities, additional readings, films and filmstrips, maps, charts, and records which may be secured as learning aids. Teachers' manuals containing hundreds of suggested ways to teach, teaching materials, and suggested examination questions are available to accompany most of the textbooks. In addition, the state provides teaching guides.[23]

Even a partial review of generally followed curriculum arrangements for secondary school instruction in citizenship as seen by state departments of education throws into sharp relief certain persistent trends. One of these is the strong continuing influence of a subject-matter sequence that in reality took form forty or more years ago. This influence has largely dropped away its earlier components of ancient and medieval history. It still retains, however, a fundamental reliance on historical study, with almost exclusive orientation to man's development in the Mediterranean, in the western European world, in North America, in this nation, and in the local state and community. As a result of this influence, certain fixtures have been riveted into the high school program. One of these is the prevalent tenth-grade course in world or modern history. Another is the almost universal appearance of American history and government as matters of study in the eighth and in the eleventh or twelfth grades, or both.

Another persistent but contrasting trend is the continuing influence of the here-and-now approach to basic social problems, to an understanding of community, to participation as a basic process of citizenship learning. Here one of the built-in fixtures resulting from the influence of an earlier time is the widespread twelfth-grade course in "Problems of Democracy," or "Modern Problems."

Reviewing reports from state departments of education against the background of forty years of curriculum development, one is impressed by what seems to be an overriding fact. The fact is that the whole field of social studies-civic education has jelled, and long since, at least from the standpoint of curriculum patterns and structure. Various strong earlier prescriptive influences, to a certain extent conflicting, have crystallized in practice into a kind of amalgam. Nonprescriptive tendencies in the past three decades have really resulted not so much in differentiated curricula as in

stabilization around earlier models. Jean D. Grambs says, in Chapter Two of this report, that we can learn nearly as much about contemporary patterns of secondary education for citizenship by studying high schools of 1938 as we can by studying those of today. The state-level picture of curriculum patterns obtained in 1958 suggests that Grambs is probably close to being right.

CURRICULUM AND SUBJECT MATTER IN INDIVIDAL HIGH SCHOOLS

Without gainsaying Grambs's comment, we have gathered a considerable amount of information about curriculum and subject matter in high schools in 1958. With few exceptions, these data confirm the picture obtained from state-level reports. Curriculum patterns, whether one stands at a distance or up close, appear to have a certain similarity. If one is looking at a traditional private school or at a public high school, certain differences are identifiable, but there are likely to be similarities, too. Here, for example, are descriptions of their respective programs by the headmaster of Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, and the principal of Central High School in Omaha, Nebraska:

> Ours is a college preparatory curriculum. Sixteen courses are required for graduation and among these every boy must have four years of English, three years of mathematics, three years of a foreign language, one laboratory science, and one year of American history, the last being a requirement of the Senior year. There are minor required courses in the Bible and in art and music appreciation. So far as the program educates for citizenship, it does so in the sense that a college liberal arts program does. We offer a few elective courses, some of which might apply more specifically, as, for example, a minor course open to seniors called Social Problems.[24]

> Most of the citizenship education that we have at Central High School is somewhat indirect. We spend a semester studying American government and attempt to draw what lessons we can in sound citizenship practice from that course. We have a course in Modern Problems which quite frequently touches upon good citizenship. A great deal of our literature is meant to deal with analyses that will lead to more intelligent citizenship.[25]

As one visits high schools from one part of the country to another, however, one finds similarities other than those just mentioned. The principal of Newton High School in Massachusetts comments that

> we believe that youngsters have to know something before they can be intelligent participators in group privileges, which I take it, is what we mean by citizenship. Most of our students take the Problems of Democracy course in Grade XII, and this emphasizes detailed analysis of real problems in their historical contexts about as much as any course we have. Together with American history in Grade XI and world history in Grade X, this twelfth-grade course helps us to graduate students who understand that there are some basic problems men live with and don't necessarily solve, but who also believe that honest men of good will can live with these problems successfully if they are free. I suppose I make a mistake to restrict the inculcation of these attitudes to our Social Studies curriculum, for my guess is that our English program is as much along these lines as any other. After all, it is in discussing plays, poetry, and novels that youngsters come up against difficult questions of right and wrong which help them form their opinions and character. This is the essence of citizenship education.[26]

Or consider the description of curriculum offered by the principal of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in Maryland:

> Citizenship education begins with Civics in the ninth grade, followed by Economic Geography or World History in the tenth grade, United States History in the eleventh grade, and Economics-Sociology, Senior Problems, or Far Eastern Affairs-Pan American History in the twelfth.[27]

Similarities continue to show up when one looks at the New York City course of study which provides for a ninth-grade course in "World History and Our Economic World," a tenth-grade course in "Modern World History," an eleventh-grade American history course, and a twelfth-grade semester course in economics.[28]

While it is true that there are pronounced similarities in curriculum structure and sequence in high schools in all parts of the country, this is by no means the whole story. Labels can be the same without meaning that the same kinds of learning are proposed

or accomplished. Let me cite two extremely different examples.

Both Orangeville* High School in California and Phillips Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire, offer American history in the eleventh grade. The first is a public comprehensive high school in a modest suburban area outside of Los Angeles. Some two thousand students attend Orangeville High. It has a new plant with very modern classrooms. The faculty at Orangeville are young, and the intention of the school leadership is to provide a comprehensive program suited to the needs of the boys and girls of the community.

The eleventh-grade course in American history is described in the bulletin of Orangeville High as having an emphasis on the events of the twentieth century. In the fall of 1958 there were five sections of United States history (college preparatory) and ten sections of "American Institutions" (noncollege) at Orangeville. These fifteen sections of students involved more than 400 boys and girls and were taught by four teachers. Students were told by teachers that their performance on homework would count for one half of the final grade in the course, with tests making the other half. Homework involved weekly assignments set forth on dittoed sheets requiring students to define terms and identify names, to answer such questions as "Why are many different kinds of fish caught in the waters along the New England coast?," and to perform such exercises as drawing a map of western Pennsylvania showing the routes of George Washington in 1753-54 and General Edward Braddock in 1755, marking all forts and rivers in the vicinity. At the outset of the year, a special mimeographed bulletin was given to all eleventh-grade history students on the subject of "class participation":

> If it is necessary for the instructor to correct a student because he is interfering with the learning effort of other students, that student will have a choice of two possible correction devices: a reduction in points or detention. The instructor will assign the amount of detention commensurate with the offense. The student will then indicate whether he will serve the detention or lose 50 points for every half hour of detention assigned. If the student

*The name of the community and school has been replaced by this designation for the present report.

chooses to serve detention and fails to do so, he will be referred to the counselor and possibly be placed on the first step of the three-step probation system set up by the 11th-grade unit office.

Somewhat different conditions of eleventh-grade history instruction are encountered at Phillips Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire. Course titles are the same and the grade placement approximately the same, but what is proposed and accomplished under the label differs rather substantially at Phillips Exeter. A comparison here is intended only to suggest how instructional practices can vary under a common label and how different an approach to adolescent education for social understanding can be when, as at Exeter, teaching is more adequately supported than at most public high schools.

The Phillips Exeter Academy has a present enrollment of just over 760 boys from all parts of the United States and from several foreign countries. The school has a book-value endowment of more than twenty million dollars, a campus of 400 acres, and a well-paid and well-trained faculty. At the beginning of the 1930's, a gift from Edward S. Harkness doubled the size of the faculty and reduced the average class size from approximately thirty to twelve. The Harkness gift also provided the school with classrooms equipped with round or oval tables to promote discussion. Each of the nine members of the history department at Exeter has his own such room in which he meets his classes of twelve students. In addition to a seminar table, a faculty member's room includes ample space for a working library, for files of materials, and for his own desk. The required course in American history meets for four class periods of fifty minutes each per week, with an expectation of an hour and a half of preparation for each class. Because classes are small enough to be seated around a table, a great deal of class time is devoted to discussion and controversy. From time to time the several classes meeting at a given hour attend a formal lecture given by a member of the department. Homework in the American history course involves extensive reading. It also requires the student to prepare a research paper. These research papers are a major feature of the program. Topics are chosen by mid-November of the year, but the final deadline is not until the

following March. Students are encouraged to tackle original research, often relating to the history of their own home localities. A good deal of their research, therefore, is of a field nature, accomplished during visits to their homes. Some sample titles of research papers accomplished by Exeter students in the recent past are: "The Negro Situation in Sanford, Florida"; "Some Aspects of Early Milwaukee History"; "Salem Privateering in the War of 1812"; "The Socialist Community of Zoar, Illinois"; *"The Chicago Tribune"*; and "General Frémont in the Civil War."

Topics are chosen with the intention of letting a boy follow his own interests if they can be related to the historical background of our country, of encouraging him to do original research, and of having him dig into the record of the human past in his own home area. Tests in American history used at Exeter, as one might expect, tend to be of the essay or "thought" type. Here is an example of a thirty-minute question recently used:

> "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an Absolute Tyranny over these states."
>
> Write an essay explaining how far you consider this an accurate statement of the causes of the American Revolution.[29]

Comparison of what lies beneath the curriculum label at Orangeville High School and at Phillips Exeter Academy may seem unprofitable, since the situations of the two schools are so different. Some might argue that the capabilities of the boys fortunate enough to attend Exeter are so much higher than those of students ordinarily found in public high schools that comparison of curriculum practices does not make sense. It seems to me, instead, that Phillips Exeter performs a very real service for public high school education by demonstrating that teaching can have added quality and creativity if it has added financial support of real size. While Exeter's curriculum might be improved in terms of civic education, the conditions of classroom instruction there could be coveted for all American boys and girls.

In passing, there is another label under which it is well to look. "Problems of Democracy," or "Modern Problems," is a course commonly found in the twelfth grade in American high schools.

Arthur William Dunn and many others have hoped that this course would open up critical issues and problems of our times for study by boys and girls at the point when they are leaving high school for adult employment or for college. What actually takes place in classrooms where this course is offered is likely to deviate from Mr. Dunn's expectations, to judge both from observation and research. Truman Hall, for example, in a research reported in 1953 found that secondary school teachers in Ohio were typically cautious about dealing with controversial issues in the classroom.[30]

Several points can be made concerning curriculum patterns and subject-matter sequences in secondary schools. First, there is a remarkable uniformity of curriculum structure, course designations, and grade-level placements in the patterns of social studies-civic education to be found in American high schools, whether public or private. Second, history and the study of government are consistently the main threads in the announced program of studies for citizenship. Third, what actually happens under a given curriculum label depends on the school, on the creativity and quality of its faculty, on the adequacy of educational support in the community, and on other variable factors. Fourth, studies derived from other disciplines than history and government are limited largely to peripheral courses or units dealing with economics and to some extent to something generously labeled as "sociology." There is no significant evidence of social studies-civic education utilizing the insights and data of anthropology, social psychology, mental hygiene, or other social science disciplines.* Fifth, one finds a certain amount of proliferation of units and courses dealing with a wide variety of things placed for convenience under the heading of citizenship learnings. This proliferation has included such matters as orientation to the school, driver education, alcohol education, safety education, and other concerns. Sixth, while most high schools approach the study of "modern problems" in a manner that can be described most charitably as limited and gingerly, some secondary schools try to engage boys and girls in studying genuinely critical issues of our society.

*Exceptions, such as the ninth-grade course in anthropology at Germantown Friends School in Philadelphia and the humanities course at the Verde Valley School in Arizona, are notable for their rarity.

Citizenship Through Conformance to Standards of Conduct

In the preceding section, we noted that the most dominant assumption about citizenship in secondary education is that it can be learned through the regular instructional program. That this is the dominant operating assumption in the organized educational program for adolescents as citizens may be disclaimed by some school people. Disclaimed or not, the fact remains that our secondary schools have built a fairly standard and sizable portion of their general-education curricula on the proposition that it is justified as contributing to the development of citizenship. This phase of the curriculum, whether or not it lives up to its rationale, occupies a large amount of student and teacher time and costs a good part of the school's operating budget. Like Topsy, the curriculum officially proposed for citizenship education "was not born, it just grew." The curriculum intended for citizenship education is often a bulky, static, crystallized amalgam of contradictions, repetitions, and inconsequentialities. At worst, it engages students in acquiring unrelated facts about political and military history in as large a quantity as possible. At best, it leads students into individual and group investigation of past and present society and the formation of at least some relevant generalizations.

The second most dominant assumption about citizenship in the secondary school is that it is learned and revealed in terms of conduct within the school community. Day-to-day citizenship in every high school is operationally defined as conformance to certain agreed or prescribed standards of behavior and conduct. The pervading practice in most schools at present is to speak of student citizenship in terms that formerly were used to describe "deportment."

One principal, when interviewed, expressed his views with regard to student citizenship in the school as follows:

> In talking with students I take the position that we know what is right and wrong, that it isn't "adult" standards or "youth" standards that we are interested in . . . that we are after what "should" be done, not what you can get away with. . . . Citizenship in this

school is a demonstration of character. This school goes heavily on the emphasis of self-control rather than external control. We very seldom use punishment at all. But in discipline the emphasis is on bringing about correction, and we do use all kinds of means, from persuasion to corporal punishment. . . . I have a belt here [in his desk] and I used it three times last year . . .

Another example taken from the manual for teachers in a suburban comprehensive high school in the Northeast illustrates how some schools have organized for the recognition of conforming conduct and the punishment of conduct not considered to be that of good citizens:

The Merit System

A positive approach is adopted in regard to the citizenship rating of the pupils in the school. Good conduct is rewarded. It is flexible in that the greater the offense, the greater the loss of merits and in the reverse order, the greater the service to the school, the greater the reward in the form of merits granted.

Each pupil in school is given 100 merits at the beginning of the year. This figure indicates an average, good citizen of the school. Merits may be gained by performing any service over and above what is expected of a student in the daily routine. If a student commits an offense, he will lose merits according to the seriousness of the offense.

Loss of merits is not a form of punishment in itself. It is simply a method of recording the citizenship record of a pupil and provides the office with a complete picture of every student. Detentions, therefore, should accompany any loss of merits given.

Any pupil who has lost more than ten merits is not eligible to run for office. Any officer who loses ten merits may be subject to recall. The total number of merits held by a student at the end of the school year will determine his socio-civic rating. A student, therefore, can by his actions throughout the year achieve any rating for which he may strive.

In this case, the teachers' manual goes on to indicate criteria of minor, major, and emergency offenses for which teachers and administrators are expected to give specified demerits. The following are classified as minor offenses which indicate poor school citizenship: gum chewing after repeated warning; whispering or

talking after warning; being repeatedly tardy to classes; causing slight disturbances; being out of seat intentionally; making undue noise; shooting paper wads; and so on. Major offenses, indicating seriously defective citizenship, consist of lying (proven); cheating (proven); continually disturbing classes or study rooms; behaving boisterously in lunchroom, corridors, and so forth; being defiant, insubordinate, insolent and disobedient; willfully destroying public property; smoking in the building; being truant; being continually tardy to school; skipping classes; and so forth.

Arrangements for adult institutional control of adolescent behavior are frequently not as codified as in the example given above. To insure conformance to prescribed standards of conduct, many secondary schools depend on a simpler, but essentially similar, structure of authority. In the classroom and corridors, the teacher acts as the prime arbiter of permissible conduct. When nonconforming behavior is encountered which the teacher feels unable to cope with, the student is referred to one of the administrators for discipline or punishment. The administrator most frequently charged with this responsibility is an assistant principal. In such arrangements, the ultimate authority rests with the principal and his superiors, and the sanctions intended to enforce conformance vary from the assignment of "detention" time after regular school hours to corporal punishment and suspension or expulsion. Even in schools where the simpler arrangement outlined above obtains, it is usual to find conforming conduct described directly or by implication as good citizenship. At Orangeville High School, for example, under the heading of "Citizenship Counts," students are told in their handbook that if they are to be good citizens in the school they should follow the "Laws on Conduct" outlined for them:

> In a democratic society, the laws are made for the general welfare and protection of the people. As you are a citizen of such a society these laws insure your rights and privileges and freedoms. The rules and regulations published in the handbook were set down to serve as a guide for the good citizen.

Such explicit controls and designations of good in-school citizenship are not the whole story by any means, however. Each school

carries in its culture a set of standards of behavior to which adolescents are expected to conform. These standards must be met, or at least not violated, if a person is to be assigned to the status of a "good" member of the adolescent school community. The standards are invariably set by adults, although in some instances students are allowed to participate to a degree in their articulation and enforcement. The adults who set these standards are usually oriented to middle-class norms of proper social behavior, and the standards they set up for boys and girls reflect this fact.

Where the student group tends to come from a lower socioeconomic culture than that with which teachers generally identify, it appears necessary for the adults in the school to spell out with great care both what the standards are and what sanctions will be used to insure conformance to them. Thus in Orangeville High School dress regulations are defined explicitly for both girls and boys:

GIRLS

Capris and Bermudas

Under ordinary circumstances girls will not be permitted to wear jeans, levis, slacks, pedal pushers, Capris, Bermudas, or shorts in classes. On special occasions, Bermudas and Capris may be worn, but these times will be announced by the principal.

Bobby Pins and Scarves

Wearing the hair up in pin curls and covered with a scarf is not considered appropriate for the classroom. . . .

BOYS

Boys are expected to dress in clean, appropriate clothing. (P.S.—No bare midriff or half-mast pants) Styles in haircuts will vary from time to time. However, no boy will be permitted to represent the school in any activity (such as sports, band, etc.) unless his hair is of such length as to be neat and considered "normal." Boys appearing at school with shaved heads, or with "Mohawks" will be suspended from school until the hair grows out. Exceptions will be made to the shaved head if it is done for reasons of sanitation or upon request of a medical adviser.

On the other hand, at City College High School in Baltimore, Maryland, the same matter is handled without any overt regulation

at all. This Baltimore high school is one of the oldest public secondary institutions in the United States. Today, as in earlier times, it serves a large enrollment of boys from all parts of Baltimore. City College High School is primarily a college-preparatory institution, with a strong academic emphasis along traditional lines. Boys admitted there are apt to feel that they are involved in a prestige institution which will help them succeed in college and in later life. Today a visitor to City College High School finds it overcrowded and hard-pressed to handle its enrollment. Even so, the atmosphere of the school seems calm, and student conduct is orderly. A visitor is impressed by a high degree of order in the classrooms and in the cafeteria. This quality of order appears to exist without frequent or obvious adult intervention. Boys at City College High are not only neatly but somewhat formally dressed in comparison with boys in many other high schools. Neckties, oxford-cloth button-down shirts, tweed jackets, and chino pants seem to be more or less the rule, as they are today on many college campuses. When asked whether there were dress regulations that enforced this style, the principal seemed somewhat surprised by the question. He said that, of course, there were no dress regulations, since the boys "just seem to know how to dress properly." City College has a long and strong tradition of prestige and of "adult-like" treatment of students. This powerful tradition, without elaborate regulations, tells boys what is expected of them and what they may expect in the school. It is interesting to note that a sizable degree of integration of Negro students has here taken place quietly and without any difficulty, in contrast to other Baltimore schools. A beginning has also been made toward the integration of Negro faculty members. The student group is said to be almost evenly divided among Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic boys. Some of the boys attending City College High School do not come from middle-class homes. The thing which all of these boys have in common, however, appears to be an aspiration to the kinds of academic and social values for which the school stands. As a consequence, it is possible for a high level of conformance to the school standards to occur without a great deal of overt regulation.

Jules Henry in his article, "Docility, or Giving Teacher What

She Wants," has described how middle-class children internalize a capacity to receive and act upon "signs, signals, cues" communicated by teachers who share in the middle-class culture.[31]

Henry refers principally to *mental docility,* but his point applies to general behavioral docility or conformance, too. The more nearly the student group shares the same middle-class culture as teachers, the more can standards of conduct be met without elaborate protocol, simply because everyone "knows" what is "expected." Where teachers are middle class and their students are not, or not securely so, the high school is more likely to provide overt, explicit statement of standards and procedures for assuring conformance.

It is significant in this connection that American high schools tend to tie these standards to the high-status concept of "good citizenship." High schools say in effect to boys and girls: "Here are the bad things you must not do if you are to be a person qualified for membership in the kind of society we ought to have here. If you do these things, you will be a bad citizen, and therefore be punished or unrewarded. If you refrain from these things, we will consider you a *good citizen.*" As Henry points out, this approach works better when teacher and students are in cultural agreement on what things are "bad" than where this is not the case. Where they are not in cultural agreement, as in the brutal extreme of *The Blackboard Jungle,* students are apt to be united against the middle-class teacher and the conduct-values he represents.

Citizenship Through Limited Participation in School Management

The third most dominant assumption about citizenship in the secondary school is that it is learned through limited participation in the management of school affairs. The chief vehicle of this participation is the apparatus of student government or student councils. This approach has been evolved within limitations that are described by Paul Elicker as follows:

Only the hopelessly reactionary teacher or the outmoded administrator now feels that student participation in school management is a fad. Student participation in the management of school activities has amply justified its place in the democratically administered school.

The fact that the phrase, "student participation" in the management of the school, has replaced the term "student government" is mute evidence that school administrators have not in the least relinquished their final responsibility for control of the school, although they recognize the advantages of delegating to students some participation in the management of the school. The principal must always be the directing head of his school. . . . He must always be in a position to veto any action of the student council or to supersede it in any case when the occasion justifies such action. If his school is organized and administered democratically, he will seldom, if ever, find such action necessary. It is, however, a part of any adequate teaching of democracy to have the student body recognize this authority and the reasons for it. But no principal should be satisfied with this negative leadership. The effective principal will consult student council leaders when formulating policies and plans for school and student activities; he will allow his own thinking to be modified by the thinking of the student council leaders; he will accept student solutions to problems whenever possible; and he will foster in the student body a sense of loyalty and co-operation with school officials.[32]

Elicker is currently one of the leaders in the development of the student council movement in secondary schools. It is his feeling that "The American high school is almost ideally conceived for the process of learning to live democracy by living it."[33] At the same time, Elicker speaks for many school administrators in saying that "To expect immature pupils to govern themselves without help is unreasonable if not naïve; to refuse to grant pupils a share in managing their own affairs constitutes a failure to see the possibilities of training youth from twelve to eighteen years of age, under guidance, to participate in democratic processes."[34]

Gerald M. Van Pool has reviewed the aims and objectives of student councils in several hundred high schools and reports the following characteristic reasons for existence which these organizations assert in their constitutions:

To encourage the practice of good citizenship.
To provide a forum for the expression of student opinion.
To provide a training ground for both leaders and followers.
To provide a laboratory of citizenship in which students may learn to be good citizens by doing the things which a good citizen does.
To provide a clearinghouse for most student activities.
To provide a central office for scheduling school activities.
To interest students in school affairs.
To prepare students for intelligent participation in school affairs.
To promote the common good.
To help solve problems that arise in the school.
To give students practical knowledge about a democracy.
To promote better understanding between students and faculty.
To promote better scholarship.
To give students a share in the management of the school.
To uphold the traditions of the school.
To develop qualities of leadership.
To co-ordinate and regulate school activities.
To help each student reach his maximum development.
To maintain rules of good order.
To create better school spirit.
To furnish a tangible organization to represent the students.
To insure a high regard for law and order.
To develop high ideals of personal conduct.[55]

The concept of "student participation" which is generally favored by Elicker and other contemporary leaders in secondary school administration is clearly not that of "self-government." In the 1890's and early in the present century, a small but vigorous group of educational leaders developed plans for maximizing self-government in the student life of the secondary school. One of the most outstanding events in this connection was the establishment of the George Junior Republic at Freeville, New York, in 1894. This school, which continues to operate, features an elaborate and apparently successful system of student self-government of all aspects of school life. Another major force in the "self-government" movement for secondary schools was Richard Welling, who in the first part of this century devoted his time and personal financial resources to the advocacy of self-government

for high school students. The National Self-Government Committee which he founded has continued to operate until the present time in efforts to stimulate the development of self-government among adolescents.[36]

But "self-government" is not a popular concept today. In this connection Elicker says of the early proponents of student self-government:

> These men blazed a trail for the participation of students in the management of activities in which adolescents, as chief participants, were most vitally concerned. In the desire of these pioneer educators to release their charges from subservient obedience, they often erred in swinging too far toward the other extreme.[37]

Elicker refers to the rejection of the concept of student self-government and credits a group of secondary school leaders who helped see to it that a "'return' was made from the byway of student *self*-government to the highway of student participation in school government."[38]

Since the abandonment of the self-government approach in favor of that of student participation, studies indicate that from two thirds to three fourths of the high schools of the United States have developed some form of student participation in school management. For the last twenty years this proportion has not significantly changed. A study in 1939, for example, showed that eighty-one per cent of the schools responding to an inquiry by the National Association of Secondary-School Principals had some form of student participation in school management. A more recent study indicated that of 6,555 high schools replying to a questionnaire, 5,077, or approximately seventy-seven per cent, indicated that they had an active and definitely organized student council. Administrators indicated that these school councils were designed to provide student participation and cooperation in school management.[39]

The assumption that students' participation in the management of school affairs contributes to their civic education is well accepted at the level of state school leadership. Leadership in Utah, for example, says that "most of our high schools have student

government organizations which provide opportunity for students to assume citizenship responsibilities in connection with the smooth functioning of their school organizations."[40]

A similar observation comes from Idaho, where state leaders say that some of the most promising current practices in citizenship in Idaho high schools include well-organized student government programs.[41] The schools in Iowa

> through student participating activities, such as student councils, homeroom activities, clubs, social activities, etc., assist the student to clarify and develop the following principles:
>
> 1. democratic attitudes
> 2. understanding of democratic principles
> 3. skills essential to democratic participation
> 4. responsibilities demanded of each member of a democratic society[42]

Kansas reports that the student council organization is "active in most Kansas schools, and . . . valuable citizenship practices are developed through participation."[43]

In Mississippi, state leadership says that:

> Schools that involve pupils in purposeful activities which furnish opportunities to take responsibility and develop leadership ability are usually more sensitive to the school's responsibility for developing effective citizenship. The student council, honor societies, well-organized club programs and skillful teachers all contribute to this end.[44]

In Nebraska, state leaders say that "we also like the contributions that are coming from some of the better-organized and better-supervised student councils."[45] A state leader in New Hampshire offers the comment that "I think that some of our most promising citizenship education practices in the high schools in New Hampshire are taking place through an imaginative and effective student council movement in certain high schools. . . ."[46] An "active student council with real responsibilities" is cited by the state leadership in Pennsylvania as the first among most promising practices in civic education among that state's high schools.[47]

When one approaches individual high schools, this assumption is frequently stated by school leadership. For example, at Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in Bethesda, Maryland, the principal says that:

> Some of our most effective practices in instruction in citizenship involve the operations of the Student Government Association, which controls and co-ordinates the activity program of the student body, the development and enforcement of regulations regarding student dress and social standards (this being a student-parents school co-operative development), the activities of the international relations club, the mock elections held each four years, . . .[48]

A similar point of view is expressed by the principal of the Shaker Heights High School in Shaker Heights, Ohio, who writes that his school:

> is built on the philosophy of participation and co-operation of the students with the Staff. We try to make this participation a real experience and not a rubber-stamp activity coming from and dominated by the Faculty. The individual worth of the student is recognized both in the classroom and in co-curricular activities. . . . The school does not think of its activity program as extra-curricular but rather co-curricular.[49]

At Mount Lebanon High School in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, it is felt that the organization of the school into homeroom groups not only provides considerable opportunity to practice parliamentary law but also provides students with a medium through which they can discuss problems relating to themselves, their school, and the community. Mount Lebanon reports that through "this student self-governing organization" last year a better program of senior activities was worked out which took into consideration "the private citizens' rights to reasonable quiet without interference from the students."[50]

The assumption that is basic to the approach to citizenship through student participation in the management of school affairs is, of course, spelled out in widely different ways by the leadership in different schools. Some leaders take a narrow, restrictive, and mechanical view of the possibilities of student participation. They

observe the forms of participation without regard to its substantive quality. In certain other schools there is a lively belief in the possibility of utilizing student participation as a creative way of teaching the virtues of freedom and responsibility in practice. The following comment from the principal of Newton High School in Massachusetts suggests how some school leaders seek to use student participation as a basic learning experience in citizenship:

> We believe in giving youngsters as much responsibility as they can take successfully. One of my criticisms of the average American secondary school is that it infrequently allows outlets for the developing maturity of teenagers. Our students will be better school citizens if we give them the freedom to take responsibility for their own affairs. We are moving in this direction in Newton High School. We are encouraging more student government activities; we are giving our older students more privileges; we are teaching classes in a way that demands more maturity. . . . In all of our extracurricular activities we place great dependence on student leadership.[51]

It would not be wise to conclude that student-participation programs in high schools live up to the aspirations for them that are stated by school leaders. Without trying to make any judgments about the effectiveness of student-participation programs in the management of school affairs, it is enough here to conclude that such programs do exist, in form at least, in the great majority of American secondary schools. The chief rationalizing assumption given for these programs is that they contribute significantly to student experiences in applied citizenship in the school setting. Whether this assumption actually works out in practice, and how well, are questions that deserve serious study.

Citizenship Through Laboratory Practices, Field Study, Mock and Actual Civic Participation

The fourth most evident assumption observed in American secondary schools as they educate adolescents for citizenship is that community study and civic participation are important means

of civic education. This approach has attracted the interest and support of a number of secondary school people and others in the past twenty-five years. Even so, the proportion of schools pursuing this approach in more than token ways appears relatively small. Similarly, the proportion of students directly affected by this approach is small indeed in comparison with those included by the curriculum, deportment, and school-government approaches.

The approach through community study and civic participation may mean many things. One meaning is that covered by the term *laboratory practices*. This term was popularized by the Citizenship Education Project at Teachers College, Columbia University. It refers to learning activities that are undertaken and managed in regular classroom or school work, but which engage students in community study and citizenship tasks that lie within their range of abilities. A laboratory practice as defined by the CEP should meet six criteria: it is real, it has focus, purpose, and democratic values, and it involves students in getting information firsthand and in taking action. The CEP, in its several years of operation, developed many such laboratory practices. These were summarized in a card file made available to classroom teachers. In 1952-53, 1,843 teachers in 527 school systems were reported to be using CEP materials and methods in teaching citizenship to some 100,000 high school students.[52]

The following abridged example is from the CEP "Brown Box," or card file of laboratory practices. It is designated for the laboratory practices topic of Elections and is suggested for use in the social studies, English area:

TELLING THE COMMUNITY HOW CANDIDATES STAND ON ELECTION ISSUES

Students inform local citizens as to what candidates have said and written on important election issues.

This Practice is designed to give students firsthand experience as participating citizens in a real democratic political election and to help students understand that citizens must be well-informed in order to vote intelligently.

Identifying the Issues: Students identify the important campaign issues by examining party platforms, statements issued by

party headquarters, statements by the candidates, and reports given by radio, TV, newspapers, and other media of communication. . . .

Finding Out Where Candidates Stand: After deciding what the significant issues are, students determine how local and national candidates stand on these issues. By interviewing the candidates or their representatives, listening to and reading campaign speeches and party statements, students can select quotations that clearly express the candidates' positions.

A candidate's stand can also be determined by reviewing his voting record if he has served in public office.

Two general questions should be considered: How closely is a candidate bound by his party's platform? What discrepancies exist between the platform and the candidate's position?

Reporting the Information: The information could be reported in a number of ways. Candidates' positions on a single issue could be prepared as a daily feature of the local newspaper or as a series of five-minute "spots" on the local radio. A brochure, "How the Candidates Stand," could be distributed. Students could give formal or informal reports before local civic groups.[53]

CEP laboratory practices along the lines of the example cited above are available in the following topic fields: Law-Government-Politics (courts, elections, legislatures); Social Structure-Economic Forces (community structure, economic system, housing); Communication-Interpersonal Relations (communication media, intercultural relations, public opinion, propaganda); Science-Technology-Agriculture (conservation, public health, transportation).

Today with the CEP's active period concluded, one finds laboratory practices frequently spoken of in the field with respect and a sense that they gave many teachers help in moving citizenship education from book study to action study. At the same time, the use of this approach has not been very widespread and appears at present to be diminishing, to judge by certain reports. A leader in the state department of education in Delaware, who was a CEP staff member for two and a half years, reports the situation in his state as follows:

From my own point of view, it seems to me that the approach generally set by the Citizenship Education Project offers the most

> promising practice for us. . . . In leadership, some of the research conducted by the Citizenship Education Project and by other similar groups in the educational world seems to indicate that constant on-the-spot leadership is one of the most important factors to the success of any curricular enterprise. The 12 schools using CEP materials in Delaware have dropped off to 2 primarily because there was no one to offer continued stimulation.[54]

The approach to citizenship education through community study and civic participation has other meanings than the one outlined above. Perhaps the most frequent is the participation of students in mock or actual civic organizations or meetings.

A significant number of these activities are endeavors conducted outside the high school's direct jurisdiction, but with the cooperation—and at least the tacit approval—of school authorities. Frequently such activities are scheduled in vacation or summer periods. They usually involve participation of delegates from a number of high schools. The premise of these endeavors is usually that such participation will give to leading students additional insight into the meaning and operation of government through their participation in simulated governmental arrangements. A leading example of such endeavors promoted by a private organization is the American Legion-sponsored Boys State and Girls State program.

THE MASSACHUSETTS DIVISION OF CIVIC EDUCATION

An example of a major state-wide program of high school student practice in state government is the Annual Student Government Day, conducted each winter by the Division of Civic Education of the Massachusetts State Department of Education. High schools throughout Massachusetts participate in this program by electing students to serve as delegates in a one-day special mock session of the state government. This session features a meeting of a mock legislature, committee meetings and the handling of bills on a basis parallel to that in the regular legislature, leadership by a student governor and other youth functionaries, and the adoption or rejection of youth-proposed legislation. On Student

Government Day, the youth delegates meet in the state house in Boston and utilize all of the facilities ordinarily reserved for the regular state government. In 1959, Student Government Day involved the participation of 440 delegates. The program was televised by remote control for reception and study in the high schools of Massachusetts, and the state department of education estimated that 100,000 high school students saw on television some or all of the proceedings. This Massachusetts endeavor has been in operation for eleven years and appears to be growing in emphasis and in the communication of its content by mass media.

The Massachusetts Division of Civic Education is the only office of its kind in any state department of education. It is charged by state law with:

> . . . responsibility for leadership in the cooperative study and fuller use, in the public schools and teachers colleges of the Commonwealth, of teaching materials and methods, student activities, and administrative and supervisory procedures directed toward more effective preparation for the duties of citizenship.[55]

In addition to the Annual Student Government Day and accompanying activities, the Division conducts a vigorous program. This program includes cooperative action with a variety of community organizations; speaking engagements; in-service and pre-service teacher training in youth problems, civic education, economic education, and intergroup education; the conducting of conferences; and adult citizenship education. Two parts of this program afford further concrete examples of the approach to education for citizenship through civic study and community participation.

One part is the Massachusetts Student Government Exchange Program in which 117 city and town high schools were paired in 1958. In this unique program, an elected student "Exchange Committee" in a city high school interprets its community, local government, and school for visitors from a paired town high school on Student Exchange Day; visitors at the town high school are helped by the preparations of a similar committee there. The goals of this program include encouraging a more active study of local government and community by the host school, and a greater

awareness of patterns of community life and government other than one's own.

Another active part of the Division's program involves the encouragement and recognition of community service by adolescents. Thomas J. Curtin, Division Director, has commented on this phase of his program as follows:

> The two main media through which these efforts have been made are the "Citizenship-in-Action" program and the School Bureau project of the Greater Boston United Community Services.
>
> The "Citizenship-in-Action" program, conducted jointly with the Massachusetts Secondary School Principals' Association, has consisted essentially of recognition assemblies honoring students who have performed significant social welfare services in their communities.
>
> The School Bureau of the United Community Services of Greater Boston, directed by Robert McCreech, a former social studies teacher and school administrator, is the catalytic agent through which another effective partnership in civic education has been created. This bureau has brought together seventy-three member agencies of a great social service organization (U.C.S.) and approximately one hundred seventy-nine public, independent private, and parochial secondary schools in a joint enterprise which has provided opportunities for approximately twenty-seven hundred young people to do an estimated eighty-five thousand hours of volunteer social service work during the past two years. The Director of this Division is chairman of the advisory board of the School Bureau and assisted in the development of the original plan.

Throughout the country many other programs utilize the community and its government as a locale for participation of students in experience projects. Some of these programs occur only on special occasions or special days during the year with participation only by selected students. Others are projects of greater continuity in which the school makes an effort to provide learning in depth about the community for a number of students. Reports indicate that in some quarters these projects are receiving increasing attention. Leadership in the state department of education of West

Virginia, for example, speaks of a "growing trend" in citizenship education in that state "toward making these courses experience activities rather than textbook content courses. Community projects and school government activities are replacing the traditional factual subject matter."[56]

Tennessee leadership reports among "most promising current practices" the fact that schools in that state frequently organize "visits to offices of local officials to get acquainted with them to learn their duties first-hand" and often provide "invitations to local officials to visit the schools and talk to the students about the assumption of citizenship responsibilities."[57]

State educational leadership in Pennsylvania feels that the best citizenship education practices in high schools of that state are:

> . . . those which encourage or require the student to actively participate in and observe the functioning of community and school governments, including such things as . . . school aid or sponsorship of projects for community improvement . . . observance of local government in action through field trips and special assignments.[58]

The Assistant Commissioner of Education in Nebraska comments that:

> We have been impressed with four communities engaged in Community Education projects. In these communities high school students have been involved in community activity in a realistic way. This sort of thing is quite effective in developing a feeling of civic responsibility on the part of individuals and is quite superior to academic discussions.[59]

In Idaho, annual youth legislatures assemble in the state capitol building with boys and girls from high schools of the state participating. These Idaho youth-legislature activities are sponsored by such organizations as the American Legion, the YMCA, and the YWCA. The schools, however, "carry much of the responsibility for the organization and shaping of these activities."[60] In Alaska, it is said that

All of the larger high schools participate in "government for a day" projects where high school students take over the local municipal offices for a day. Actually, in some instances, there has been as much as a week of this type of activity in some cities.[61]

THE BALTIMORE PROGRAM FOR CIVIC PARTICIPATION

Among major cities, Baltimore has been a leader in developing high school experiences designed to provide citizenship education through field study and civic participation. Since 1949, three interesting major projects in civic participation for high school students have been undertaken by the Baltimore public schools. In 1949, social studies teachers at Patterson Park High School and at Mergenthaler Vocational-Technical High School devised a civic-participation plan that has continued in the intervening years. They tied their plan in with the "Modern Problems" course taken by twelfth-grade students at the two schools. The program calls for scheduling "Modern Problems" students so that three periods of the five allotted for the week are scheduled consecutively on one afternoon. This permits students to visit civic agencies and work for them one afternoon during the school day each week. During the other two weekly periods in "Modern Problems," the students plan, discuss, and evaluate their civic participation and relate their reading to these outside experiences. Students and agencies alike have viewed this program as one of civic participation, not of work experience. Agencies have concentrated on activities that would normally be carried out by volunteers rather than those usually performed by the paid staff. Agencies in Baltimore cooperating with this program include the American Red Cross, the Baltimore Safety Council, and the Department of Public Recreation.

A most unusual undertaking in the area of high school students' study of community life was the writing of a 375-page book, *Baltimore: City of Promise*, by students of twelve high schools in that city. This project was launched in the fall of 1950. It had the endorsement of a number of civic leaders in Baltimore and was given leadership by the Curriculum Bureau of the Baltimore city public schools. The plan called for a book which would describe how Baltimore came to be the city that it is, what makes the city tick, what its current problems are, and what is being done and

needs to be done to solve these problems. Under the guidance of their history teachers, selected groups of students studied Baltimore's history, social and civic agencies, economic life, population, educational and recreational resources, housing conditions and living standards, traffic and transit problems, and health and safety facilities. Excursions and field trips were made, community leaders were interviewed, and library research was conducted. A constant effort was made to study the community's problems firsthand. An adult staff member of the Curriculum Bureau was assigned to act full time as editor in the preparation of this book. But research and writing were the direct tasks of the student teams at the twelve high schools in the city, and each high school team had the responsibility of preparing a chapter. In passing, it should be noted that preparation of the manuscript constituted a continuing opportunity for integrated educational experience for a number of Negro and white students well before the Supreme Court decision of 1954. In 1953, the 375-page book was printed. Two classes in each of twelve schools had been involved in the preparations. More than 700 students had participated in the investigations, interviews, reading, and writing that went into the book. Five thousand copies of the book were published, and after 1953 it was used as a supplementary text for all "Modern Problems" classes in the city.

In a third endeavor, the Baltimore schools have centered high school student attention on the nature and problems of municipal government. In 1954, the high school history departments in Baltimore initiated a Model Youth City Council program. Since then, at least one class in "Modern Problems" in each city high school has participated in the program every year. Students in these classes read about municipal activities and problems of Baltimore, making particular use of the student-written book, *Baltimore: City of Promise*. They take field trips to see at first hand conditions which need to be improved. They interview department heads in the municipal government and civic leaders in connection with needed reforms. After this fact-finding period, students work with the regular members of the Baltimore city council, executive officials, and representative lay groups, such as the Women's Civic League, in order to understand how bills are written and how new municipal laws come into being. Thereafter, students write bills

covering areas of need such as those concerned with parking meters, slum clearance, recreational facilities, expressways, juvenile delinquency, civil defense, and a host of other requirments. The actual writing of the bills to be proposed in a given year is performed by students themselves. Culmination of the year-long program occurs when students from the participating high schools in Baltimore elect city-wide officers such as the mayor, president of the council, and other necessary officers. This is done through a nominating convention including students from all of the high schools so that candidates may be heard directly and seen in person. Each candidate submits a platform for office. The final main action of the year's program takes place at a legislative session for two days held at the City Hall itself in the City Council Chamber. Here participating students representing all of the Baltimore high schools go through committee processes and conduct a debate on the bills proposed. Some bills are defeated in committee. Others are vetoed by the youth mayor, but a number are passed through all three readings and signed by the youth mayor. The Bill Book for the 1958 Baltimore Model Youth City Council contained forty-five ordinances or resolutions proposed out of the year-long study-and-action program in the high schools. The following are examples of the bills contained in the 1958 program:

10. Establish an agency to deal with the problems of the aged.
15. Construction of "drag strips" for the use of hot-rod clubs.
23. Provision for re-establishment of small businesses in urban-renewal areas.
32. Municipal employment of public school students in part-time and summer jobs.
33. Recommendation for the creation of an elective course in major religions in senior high schools.
36. Creation of mental health staff for classified employees.
40. Imposition of local sales tax.[62]

CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL EDUCATION AND THE COMMISSION ON AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Roman Catholic parochial schools in the United States are given leadership in civic education through the Commission on

American Citizenship. This Commission, established in 1938 as an activity of the Catholic University of America, has developed a curriculum and textbooks in social studies-civic education for parochial elementary and secondary schools. In addition, the Commission has acted to encourage parochial schools to provide opportunities for civic participation on the part of their students. To this end, the Commission charters and maintains the Catholic Civics Clubs of America, of which there are approximately three thousand, with an average membership in each club of forty children. Each year approximately 120,000 students of the upper elementary grades (seventh and eighth) become members of the clubs. Each person who joins a Catholic Civics Club is considered thereafter to remain a *member at large*. Since their founding in 1945, the Catholic Civics Clubs of America have enrolled somewhat over 1,500,000 members. As teenage members of the civics clubs, many Catholic students participate actively in civic and community-service projects.

In the beginning, nearly all of the civics clubs undertook for projects the acquiring of information about their communities. This continues to be a major enterprise of the Catholic Civics Clubs in communities where possible social action for the clubs may be limited. Community action on the part of the clubs grew more slowly as a function; now, however, it has assumed a major role. Projects for civic action tend to fall under the following headings:

The bettering of interracial relationships
The improvement of relationships with public school pupils
Sharing neighborhood responsibilities with public school pupils
Services to shut-ins, to the old and sick in public institutions
Work for general community betterment
Friendliness to newcomers in the community
Betterment of international relations
Aid in election activities
Promotion of civic betterment[63]

Aside from the central religious emphasis of all parochial school activities, the projects undertaken by the Catholic Civics Clubs of America tend in general to parallel the kinds of community

participation undertaken in public schools. The St. Joseph Civics Club in Thompsonville, Connecticut, for example, has made an unusually complete study of its local government as a special project in the recent past. The Teen-Age Civics Club and the Citizens of Tomorrow Civics Club, both of St. Joseph's High School, Camden, New Jersey, have worked with local authorities on a civil defense project. In Cincinnati, Ohio, the Beta Civics Club of St. Mary's High School has worked on sending clothing overseas to needy families and has conducted election projects in connection with political campaigns. In California, where an important voting issue has involved the freedom of private schools from state taxation, St. Andrew's Civic Club of Pasadena campaigned to inform voters on their view of the issue.

THE GENERAL PICTURE OF COMMUNITY STUDY AND PARTICIPATION

Belief in the possibilities of citizenship education through laboratory practices, field study, and mock and actual civic participation is not uncommon. A number of school and community leaders say that this approach is essential if genuine, rather than merely verbalized, understanding of democratic processes and problems is to be achieved. Citizenship must be lived in the larger community if it is to be learned, according to those who hold this view.

The facts are, however: (a) that community study and civic participation do not constitute a central emphasis in most high school programs; (b) that where such study and participation are undertaken, they frequently give direct participant experience only to a relatively few students; and (c) that such programs rely in a majority of cases, as in mock parliaments or "government-for-a-day" events, on a small number of boys and girls taking prescribed adult roles for a very short period.

This is not to gainsay by any means the creativity and vigor of many efforts in this field. It is simply to recognize that in most American high schools, civic field study and participation have not got beyond the short-term, play-acting level. Exceptions to this generalization stand out because they are so rare.

One looks in vain for a community high school where this approach is a central educational influence on the total program. Recently a leading public school administrator described such a school. Unfortunately, the school he described exists only on paper. Archibald Shaw in "The Random Falls Idea" outlined "an educational program and plant for youth and community growth." Shaw would build into the experience of each student a substantial participation in community and civic life as part of the student's total school-community education, and would provide for citizenship development through five levels of required participant experience. In each experience, a contract would be negotiated by the school with the approval of the youth's parents and his school guide and executed between the youth and his "employer." Time in the high school's lengthened schedule, according to Shaw and Reid, would be set aside for a planned series of experiences on the basis of such contracts in the following five areas:

1. *Vocational Service:* This would break up into three sections. There would be a brief exploratory period of full-time work at an unskilled job for the student to see at first hand how the world of work looks. This would be followed by further contracts for the student in his fields of interest, need, and ability. Late in high school the student would come closer to actual vocational assignment. In this phase, some students would move into full and continuing careers; other students would work as "junior learners" part of the time in the vocation of their principal interest.
2. *Social Service:* This would include work in connection with community betterment, family service, social-agency service, church service, etc., during the high school years.
3. *Civic Service:* This would include services to political parties and at elections; to civil defense, safety, or other government-sponsored activity; to civic, art, music, or library projects; participation in a law-enforcement bureau; in recreation, etc.
4. *State and National Service:* For the high school student, this would involve him in such areas as conservation, park and recreation, agriculture, research, military, state and Federal government bodies, service to remote communities, and perhaps exchange living in far-away communities.

5. *World Service:* Here students would have opportunities to undertake work service in needy world areas, to be exchange students for living and study in foreign countries, to learn about and work with the UN and affiliated organizations on the international level.[64]

Citizenship in a Modern Public High School

Among secondary institutions visited during the present study, one of the most impressive in terms of a constructive approach to youth citizenship was the Fontana High School at Fontana, California. This comprehensive senior high school is located in a semi-desert town some fifty miles east of Los Angeles. Fontana is the location of large steel mills operated by the Kaiser interests. In its brief earlier history, prior to the coming of Kaiser, Fontana was a largely agricultural settlement. Since World War II it has become an industrial community. The population of Fontana is heterogeneous, and the steel plants constitute the largest single employer. Community leaders are seeking by planning to encourage growth of the community around the potential of the Kaiser operation, while avoiding the squalor and congested conditions of the typical eastern steel town.

Fontana High School is an important element in the life and progress of the community. The high school, built in the early 1950's, has a forty-acre campus, a five-acre farm, and a large parking lot. The leader of the school staff is Mr. E. R. Camfield, who expresses a deep concern for the role of the high school in the community. During the history of the high school, Mr. Camfield has given continuous leadership to the improvement of curriculum, the development of staff, the strengthening of guidance services, and the encouragement of a productive program of student activities. Mr. Camfield is strongly orientated toward a concept of the secondary school as an institution helping to guide and serve not only students but staff, parents, and other groups. This point of view is reflected in a comment that the guidance and counseling program is

> built around the student to help him become a self-disciplined, well-adjusted, responsible, productive, and mature citizen. It is designed to assist the student in becoming a more worth-while member of a family, a community, a school, and the world in which he lives.

The total school tends to operate around this guidance concept. In seeking to implement the concept, teachers and students undertake a good deal of experimentation in course work and activities. This is true, for example, in the twelfth-grade Problems of Democracy course. Under the direction of Mr. Edward Capparelli, chairman of the social science department, Fontana teachers are using this course to develop effective means of civic education for today's youth as they find them. When the Fontana High School was visited during the present study, two Problems of Democracy teachers, Mrs. Alice Shafer and Mr. John Sanford, were working with their students on a study of leadership. Leadership was defined operationally both in terms of public affairs and in terms of the personal development of students. Individual students were working on case studies and profiles of leaders in public affairs. Other students were seeking to identify qualities of leadership on the basis of research and autobiographical statements by adults. One class, for example, was in the midst of a detailed analysis of the autobiographical statements made by the members of the armed services who have been selected for possible space-travel experiments. The students had chosen the Astronauts for study because they felt that these men, while not noted public leaders, had been selected by the government on the basis of personal characteristics and achievements important to an understanding of responsible behavior.

The twelfth-grade Modern Problems course at Fontana High School constitutes an excellent instance of the kind of social studies course recommended for the twelfth grade by Dr. Conant in his recent study of the American high school. In addition, the total life of the institution, including work on the school farm, student upkeep of the campus, and student government activities, offers unusual opportunity to the individual student for citizenship development, regardless of his background.

Citizenship Through the Total Culture of the High School: An Uncharacteristic Case Example

An assumption is often made that citizenship "really is learned through the whole school experience." This may, for good or ill, be truer than we know. We sometimes gain the impression, too, that more is claimed for this assumption than actually occurs in practice. To claim that the "whole school" does the job of civic education may be a way of saying that responsibility for this function can be diffused to the vanishing point.

On the other hand, observation and research suggest that the *whole school culture*, if encompassing and powerful enough, may well be the most significant factor in citizenship education and the learning of values. Examples of such school cultures are not common in public secondary education. Here is an example drawn from independent secondary education. Perhaps it can be instructive, even though it is uncharacteristic in many ways.

The Verde Valley School at Sedona, Arizona, is a unique experiment in American secondary education. It is a deliberate effort to help adolescents become adults through living in a total environment characterized by a maximum of individual intellectual development, by experiences in and with other cultures, and by continuous opportunities for responsibility, participation, and leadership. As such, the Verde Valley School is not typical of secondary education in the United States today, either in independent schools, in parochial schools, or in public schools.

In certain financial ways the Verde Valley School is a marginal institution. It has no endowment, and since it has been in operation only since 1948, it does not have a large group of adult alumni to which it can turn for needed income. The operating costs of the school are met on a year-to-year basis. The greatest proportion of the operating costs is paid out of tuition. Tuition, however, is not enough to cover quite all of what it takes to operate Verde Valley. Typically, each year has ended with a small deficit, which has been met either by the director or by special gifts. The Verde Valley School is a completely nonprofit institution; its director and

founder, Mr. Hamilton Warren, draws no salary for the position he holds.

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The Verde Valley School is located very near the geographical center of Arizona. The little town of Sedona is in the midst of the magnificent red-rock country of the Oak Creek Canyon. The elevation is 4,000 feet, and giant rock formations, buttes, and mesas rise to heights that create a perspective of grandeur, loneliness, and great beauty. One reaches the school itself by an unpaved, gravel road that winds across the red earth of the country below Sedona. The road goes through washes that are dry in rainless weather and filled with rushing torrents during occasional storms. At last one comes over a rise of land and sees the school itself, a straggle of modest stucco buildings located along dusty red side roads and trails. All around the school, at a little distance, is a spectacular ring of red rock spires and steep cliffs. Green brush stands out against the red soil; there are no trees of any size; and the white buildings of the school seem far away indeed from the machine civilization of our cities and towns.

THE HISTORY AND OUTLOOK OF THE SCHOOL

The catalogue of the Verde Valley School begins with a statement entitled "Philosophy of Citizenship." Some of this statement reads as follows:

> Ours is a storm-ridden world. Only as we learn to cooperate in the family, community, nation and world can we advance. Unless we possess international security we cannot lead peaceful lives within our national boundaries. Until we achieve cooperation between labor and management, between racial and religious groups, we cannot make real progress towards a peaceful world.
>
> Our nation has become great through the combined talents and skills of peoples of many racial origins who are now American citizens. When we speak disparagingly of foreigners, we speak disparagingly of ourselves.
>
> Today the world belongs to the peoples of all nations and to this world each one of us is responsible. None of us—however secure personally we may feel—can ignore degradation and unrest anywhere on this earth. . . .

> We believe that these principles and responsibilities should be developed in boys and girls while their minds are still flexible. The Verde Valley School has been specifically planned to stimulate this vision.

Mr. Warren, the school's founder and director, is a graduate of Harvard in anthropology, and a graduate of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. He was a member of the United States State Department, later administrative assistant to the Chief of the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information during World War II. During World War II Mr. Warren conceived the idea of Verde Valley School.

Immediately after the war, Mr. Warren and his wife traveled across the country looking for an appropriate location for the school they had in mind. At length they came to Oak Creek Canyon and felt that it provided the right setting for what they planned to do. Mr. Warren purchased 165 acres of land and set about establishing a physical campus in 1947. It took most of a year for the Warrens to build the nucleus of buildings needed by the school. During that time they lived in tents on the campus and participated actively in the building program themselves.

During the period of planning and building, Mr. Warren turned to a number of people in the field of education for advice and help. Several of the people he consulted about plans for the new school utimately became members of the school board. Today the school board includes the folowing persons: George Boyce, Director of Inter-Mountain School in Utah; Lionel F. Brady, Trustee and Curator of Geology, Museum of Northern Arizona; John Collier, Director, Institute of Ethnic Affairs, Washington, D. C.; Malcolm Farmer, Anthropologist and Archaeologist, University of Washington; Clyde Kluckhohn, Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University; Jacques de Marquette, Lecturer on Oriental Philosophies and Civilizations; David P. McAllester, Professor of Anthropology at Wesleyan University; and Robert Ulich, Professor of Education of the Harvard Graduate School of Education.

In August of 1948 the first buildings of the Verde Valley School were completed, six faculty members were employed, and school was ready to begin. Sixteen students were enrolled at Verde Valley

School that fall. They arrived to find the campus far from ivy-clad. There were piles of gravel, building blocks, lumber, and other material on every hand. Roads were half-made, and the Warrens were still living in tents. The students pitched in, helped carry cement blocks, mixed concrete, did painting, and in general made the new school their own.

Now, twelve years later, the school is still one which has a somewhat unfinished look about it. Jobs are continually being done to add to or improve existing facilities. Today, the 105 students enrolled are as actively engaged in developing the school as were the original sixteen.

The intentions of the present school are summarized by the administration in the school catalogue as follows:

> The choice of the faculty members, the courses of study, and the methods of teaching are all planned to prepare all students for acceptance into top-ranking universities and colleges, yet concurrently there is integrated a thorough enrichment of additional cultural background for a more perceptive and appreciative understanding of all peoples.
>
> The lively curiosity of students, their wish to understand the purpose of things, and how they are related to each other are encouraged through discussion methods, visual aids, and close correlation within the individual subjects as well as between courses.

OLD AND NEW IN THE FORMAL CURRICULUM

From the standpoint of formal curriculum, the Verde Valley School seeks to reach its goals through a mixture of traditional and new kinds of course work. The normal schedule for a student's school year is four and a half courses. Music appreciation and art appreciation are half-courses. A certain amount of work in the art studio is obligatory for all students. The following are basic courses offered in each grade:

Ninth Grade

English
Humanities:
Anthropology, Mythology, Ethics, World Religions
Spanish I
Algebra I
Music Appreciation I
Art Appreciation I

Tenth Grade

English	Spanish
History of the Middle Ages	Biology
Humanities:	Geometry
Anthropology, Mythology,	Music II
Ethics, World Religions	Art Appreciation II

Eleventh Grade

English	Algebra II
Modern European History	Chemistry
Spanish	Music I
French I	Art Appreciation
German I	

Twelfth Grade

English	German
American History	Advanced Mathematics
Origins of Western Civilization	Physics
Spanish	Music II
French	Art Appreciation II

Staff and faculty at Verde Valley make a point of the importance of correlation among the various academic courses that are listed here. They say that these courses are not treated as separate compartments of learning but are closely related to one another in practice. Students are encouraged to think of education as a whole and civilization itself as their central subject matter in which history, literature, drama, philosophy, religion, the arts and music, and the sciences play related parts. An example of the attempt at correlation is to be found in the twelfth-grade combination of English (American Literature) and American History, which are taught by the same teacher. The teacher in charge of this combination of courses tries to link the development of American literature to the evolution of American history. Similarly, in the eleventh grade the course in English is correlated with the course in Modern European History. Although here the two courses are taught by two different teachers, they cooperate closely in the planning of subject-matter content and readings.

A course of considerable interest in reference to citizenship education is that called "Humanities," listed for the ninth and

tenth grades. The course is compulsory for entering freshmen and for new tenth-graders and is offered for college credit. The main goal of the course in humanities is to develop within students an understanding and appreciation of the cultures and civilizations of the world, past and present. Humanities is described by the teacher presently in charge of the course as follows:

> The first unit of work is devoted to areas of a theoretical nature. The concept of race, for example, is studied, and it is shown why it is unscientific to think of race in terms of superiority or inferiority. Concepts such as primitive culture versus civilization are also discussed and debated in class. These theoretical concepts are later applied to a survey of the aboriginal cultural areas of the Americas, and these studies are so timed that they help to orientate the student for the annual eight-day field trip which the school takes to the Indian reservations of the Southwest. . . .
>
> In the second semester the cultural areas of Africa are studied, and some attention here is given to contemporary problems which have arisen from the impact between two cultures manifesting very different values. In our studies of the Near East much attention is given to the Islamic religion. . . . Later in the year Hinduism is studied in relation to its cultural forms in India, and also Buddhism is examined, especially in the form as it now exists in Tibet. Toward the end of the year Confucianism and Taoism are studied in relation to China, and Shinto and Zen Buddhism are discussed in relation to the people and life of Japan.

The humanities course is interesting in connection with the present study for several reasons. For one thing, it is seldom that one encounters a direct approach to the study of anthropology in the formal curriculum of secondary schools in the United States. For another, it is not frequent to encounter in secondary curricula any direct study of comparative religions of the world. The Verde Valley School is nondenominational; its students include Protestants, a few Catholics, some Jews, several Moslems, and in addition an unknown number who profess no religion. There is a chapel meeting of the school every Sunday evening. This meeting is planned to be nondenominational and to help "students see that the great truths of all the great religions are basically the same." Chapel meetings feature visiting speakers from many different

persuasions and religious and ethical backgrounds; on one Sunday evening the students may witness an Episcopal priest conducting the ritual of his church, while on another Sunday evening they may hear the chants of an American Indian tribal priest and have an opportunity to talk with him about the religion of his people.

The formal curriculum each year is likely to feature innovations in course work intended to provide additional oportunities for the school to meet its goals. For example, each week the humanities teacher has an evening philosophical discussion which is usually attended by twenty-four boys and girls interested in trying to understand who they are and where they are going. Another example is a half-course being offered by the chemistry teacher on one evening a week. This course is entitled "Science and Man." The purpose of the course is to try to clarify the implications of science for contemporary civilization. The course meets for two hours each week, and the teacher expects that the students attending will do approximately two additional hours of reading, including readings in such paperback books as Norbert Wiener's *The Human Use of Human Beings.*

Looking at the formal curriculum of course offerings at Verde Valley, both the established and the experimental ones, one finds a basic assumption that citizenship, within the terms used by the school, can best be learned academically through content that goes far beyond the political history and civics approach commonly found in public high schools. This assumption is spelled out in courses that open up for consideration the values of the classical cultural heritage, that deal directly with the principles and findings of anthropology, that encompass a study of comparative religions, and that deal with philosophical, ethical, and intellectual formulations with regard to the human situation.

Since identity-formation is a central developmental task of adolescents and is inseparably related to the clarification of values, I was impressed by the basic assumption noted above and by the deliberate and creative efforts to implement it through relevant course work. I found myself asking questions about the curriculum of the public high school: How can cultural anthropology be opened up directly for public high school youth? Is it possible for us to find ways to enable teenagers in our public high schools to

philosophize and speculate about values and the meaning of life? How can the cultural heritage of the ancient world be made to come alive for public high school students? How may we do more to help students everywhere see the relationships between what we call history and the cultural process? How can more high schools contribute to citizenship education by helping adolescents to understand directly the nature of the scientific method in the search for truth and insight?

DIVERSITY AND LIMITATIONS OF CULTURAL EXPERIENCE AT THE VERDE VALLEY SCHOOL

The Verde Valley School prides itself on the international character of its faculty and student body. In 1958-59 persons in the faculty and student body included those with backgrounds in China, Germany, Iran, Pakistan, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Belgium, Argentina, Spain, Canada, Italy, Venezuela, Guatemala, Egypt, England, Mexico, Hungary, and Switzerland. The student group included one Negro, two Laguna Indians, one Navajo Indian, and several Asians. There is an assumption by the school that diversity of national and ethnic backgrounds in the faculty and student group in and of itself tends to contribute to the goals of international and intercultural understanding which the school pursues under the rubric of citizenship.

Diversity of cultural experience is also sought by the school through planned field-trip experiences. The major instance of this is the annual field trip to Mexico. For twenty-two days each school year, all of the students and faculty members at Verde Valley travel some 5,000 miles by truck on a camping-out basis deep into Mexico. Students stay with Mexican families for a portion of that time, and all of them have study projects to complete during the course of the field trip and to write evaluation papers upon when they return. The trips to Mexico, the evaluations that the students later write of their experiences, and the long discussions in which they engage, give boys and girls significant opportunity to articulate insights into another culture in ways that no amount of book study of anthropology would provide.

Here is a tenth-grade boy talking about a 1958 trip to Mexico:

> These people in their appreciation of music, for example, don't just listen to music, but make music themselves with instruments or singing and carry it into daily life. This I might say, is true for art too, but instead of stopping work to paint a picture or mold a vase, they carry it into their work, as in pottery making; each piece has the maker's own individual expression of art in it. . . . When I visited a silver factory, I expected it to be a kind of assembly line operation, in which one person would cut the metal, one beat it, one inlay it, and the last one finish the piece, but here again the art of expression or too, the expression of art, is carried into their lives. To the contrary of the assembly line technique, one and only one person works on a single piece of silver from start to finish.
>
> We, the United States people, have our own way of art appreciation by looking at sculptures and paintings, and our own way of music appreciation by listening to records or an orchestra, but we are losing the practice of self-expression in daily life and in our jobs, ways which the "ignorant" Mexicans have planted in themselves and their lives, just as we are concerned with our worries about money and how to make more of it, ideas that are planted in our minds and lives.

Two years of Spanish is compulsory for all students at the Verde Valley School, with a strong emphasis on the direct method of instruction. As a consequence, most of the students find that they can handle at least the essentials of communication when they travel in Mexico and live with Mexican families.

Another major effort at intercultural experience is an annual eight-day trip taken by students into the Navajo country. Students mingle closely with the Navajo people and have an opportunity to see specific features of their culture, such as the important night ceremonial dances. Individual students or small groups stay with Indian families, with Indian service workers, in missions, and in reservation schools. The school leadership says of these trips to the Indian country that students are enabled to learn

> . . . about the problems which beset these people as their population growth forces the pace of the absorption into the white man's environment. The students return from such a trip with a great appreciation for these fine people, with sympathy for their

plight, and with a feeling of responsibility, as American citizens, to see that proper measures are taken. And so starts the dawn of consciousness towards their responsibility to their fellowman everywhere in the world.

Last year one ninth-grade boy of the Verde Valley School was assigned to stay at a Christian mission in the Navajo country. In his evaluation paper he had this to say:

> For my own part I feel that while there is nothing wrong with attempts to convert those who are capable of making a mature choice between faiths, it is not right to wean children from the religion to which they were born if they do not understand the significance of the words they are taught to repeat or of the gestures that they are taught to make. Unfortunately the latter process, being much easier to carry out, seems far more common at ....., When I attended a religious education class at Kayenta, the pupils, while well cognizant of the fact that there are no fish in the Dead Sea, seemed to have little realization of what was involved in Christianity. One argument for the religious education of the young is that it teaches basic principles of right and wrong which must be implanted early. This does not apply in the case we are considering, however, because the religion which the Navajo children are given at home instills these precepts just as effectively. Another argument for the spread of Christianity is that the Navajo's own religion bedevils him with ghosts and he lives in constant fear which Christianity can alleviate. However, the method of alleviation used is to tell the people that they have only to fear the ghosts of those who die unbaptized. This only aggravates the original fear, at the same time promising in the best witch doctoring tradition that by paying allegiance to the new God the danger can be averted. . . .

Ninth-grade students make a study of the water problem of the Salt River Valley near Phoenix. They visit pumping plants, canal systems, dams, and other facilities. They learn of the problem of the rapidly decreasing water table versus the increasing development of agriculture and population. In connection with this trip, they face and discuss such questions as these: Will many of the fields now under cultivation soon revert to desert? Will the people

of Phoenix and the Salt River Valley eventually be so short of water that many will have to leave the area? Is it morally right for the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce to encourage more and more people and industry to move into the valley? Will it be economically practical to divert Colorado River water to meet this urgency? What about the battle between California and Arizona over these waters? Here the students encounter an exciting, practical, and educational civic problem in their own back yard.

A number of other experiences are planned in the life of the Verde Valley School to increase an awareness of the diversity of human relationships, problems, and cultures. Tenth-grade students, for example, visit commercial farms in the Phoenix area. They see how produce is shipped from Arizona to all parts of the United States, and they observe conditions of farm labor in large agricultural operations. In their farm visits, students have an opportunity to see Mexicans and Navajos who are employed in large numbers for farm work. Eleventh-graders each year pay a visit to the headquarters of the AFL-CIO in Phoenix. There they learn at first hand about the past and present problems of labor and the role of unions in American life. They learn about the closed shop, the check-off system, the right-to-work law proposals, strikes, union organization and industrial relationships, employee benefits, and many other phases of labor relations. Students also have an opportunity to talk with management and to gain its point of view in relation to labor and unions. This field trip is considered by the school to be an important contribution to improved understanding of labor-management problems and relations.

LEARNING ADULT ROLES OF RESPONSIBILITY, PARTICIPATION, AND LEADERSHIP

There are a good many opportunities at the Verde Valley School for boys and girls to learn what it means to be responsible citizens.

One of these opportunities lies in what the school refers to as "work jobs." Students at the Verde Valley School, like those at many boarding schools, wait on table and clean the dining room, classrooms, and their own dormitories. But Verde Valley students

do much more than this in the maintenance of their school. In accordance with a regular schedule, they help construct new buildings, lay underground utilities, and maintain school equipment. When excavations are made, or when rocks are secured for foundations, students do virtually all of the work. Some students drive school trucks, others drive the school's two tractors. Students work together in crews, each with its own student head.

A visitor to the Verde Valley School sees evidence on every hand of the contribution that student work makes to the life of the school. After a meal in the single large dining room of the school, it is a matter of only fifteen minutes until students have cleared and cleaned all of the tables, swept the floor, washed all of the dishes, pots, and pans, and moved on to their next class or activity. Students take pride in the efficiency of their work and in the contribution it makes to the operation of the school. I tested this out in one conversation with students.

"Wouldn't it be better," I asked, "if the school would hire several maintenance men to do the jobs that need doing around this school? Then you could use that hour and a half you now put in on work jobs to have fun playing tennis or something like that."

Students were vehement in their replies to me. They took my question seriously and answered it by arguing in favor of the work-job program. For one thing, they said, it was important to the school to have students do maintenance and building jobs because this saves the school and themselves money. One student pointed out to me that in the last year alone their work had made it unnecessary for the school to hire an additional six maintenance men. Another student asked me if I had seen the chapel. When I said that I had, he said with visible pride that the boys had built the chapel with the help of only one artisan. Another pointed out that the same was true of the new girls' dorm, which the boys had helped to build.

I pressed the point further, saying: "Sure, I can understand how you take pride in what you're doing, but wouldn't it be more *fun* just to be able to take off and play tennis or go riding?"

The students reacted to this question with a show of patience, as though I were failing to get a very simple point.

"You see," said one student, "work jobs *are* fun. On a job we are working together on our own. That's *part* of the fun at this school."

The life the students live is reflected to some extent in the way they dress and act. During the day, which is given over to individual and group work in classrooms and on the campus, boys and girls dress pretty much alike. Most of them wear faded levis or jeans, western style. Many wear western boots or heavy shoes. Boys and girls alike wear western work shirts. Plain country dress is the rule during the day. Girls typically wear no make-up in the daytime. Relationships between boys and girls seem easy and matter of fact, without the overlay of attempts at glamour and coquettishness that typify girl-boy relationships in many of our high schools.

The work-like atmosphere and dress of daytime changes at the dinner hour. Then it is expected that boys and girls will dress up a bit. Girls change to simple cotton dresses, brush their hair, and use make-up. Boys change to fresh shirts and neckties, and jackets if the weather is cool.

Many of the activity programs occur in the evening. In these activity programs students follow special interests and try out new fields. In 1958-59 some of the activities available to students at Verde Valley were: the student newspaper, a sewing group, an amateur radio group, a chess group, a drama group, an auto-mechanics group, a knitting group, a group on ethnology of the Southwest, a photography group, a leathercraft group, and a current events group.

There are several major ways that students at Verde Valley can learn adult roles of responsibility, participation, and leadership through student organizations. One way is provided by the dormitory council, which includes student leaders for both girls' and boys' dormitories. These students work closely with the adult dormitory heads, but carry direct responsibility for the cleanliness and order of the dormitories. Members of the dormitory council take their job seriously and place a premium on being able to discharge their responsibilities without resort to adult dorm heads for help. The dormitory council members at Verde Valley are elected student officials, and they rely usually upon discussion of

problems with their constituents to work out solutions and achieve cooperation.

A second way through which individual student leadership expresses itself is found in the school governing body. Students and faculty meet once a week as a school community, under the leadership of a student president. In 1958-59 the student president was a senior girl. In the past, the community meeting has drafted and amended a school constitution. The meeting has limited legislative powers, but its members can make recommendations on any phase of school life. According to the administration of the Verde Valley School, approximately eighty-five per cent of such recommendations have been approved and adopted. This over-all governing body appoints working committees and elects the members of the school council.

The student council is the third main avenue in school government through which Verde Valley students may gain experience in democratic participation and leadership. The council includes twelve boys and girls who serve as an advisory committee to the director of the school. Until the present year, the student council also handled complaints about student behavior, investigated them, and assigned punishments. These punishments included such things as special detentions and the withdrawal of certain privileges. According to staff members, this arrangement for the handling of discipline cases became increasingly difficult as the school grew in size. Student-council members felt that they were carrying too much of a load alone, and faculty and staff members felt that the arrangement did not provide for adequate communication among all of the school personnel who were concerned with behavior and discipline. As a result, in the fall of 1958 the student council was relieved of disciplinary responsibilities and continued as an advisory body. Discipline was transferred as a matter of jurisdiction to a newly created staff position of Dean of Students.

SHOAL WATERS: OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

Verde Valley School has succeeded, it appears to a visitor, in establishing one part of its definition of good citizenship at a very

high level indeed. Because of the interest and concerns of the director and his perception of the problems confronting mankind, the school has been organized around an ideology of citizenship that emphasizes intercultural and international understanding. The emphasis on anthropology in the formal curriculum, the field trips into other cultures, the diverse ethnic and national composition of the student and faculty group, and other evidences point up this central attitude toward the nature of effective citizenship in the present world.

In conversation with staff, faculty, and students I was impressed by their wide acceptance of this view of citizenship. Faculty did not appear to question the importance of gaining insight into other cultures; on the contrary, they explained in detail aspects of the school program designed to achieve this end. Similarly, students seemed to prize this feature of the Verde Valley School life as much as they did the work-job program and their sense of being needed members of the school community. Boys and girls frequently spoke to me during my visit about the importance of intercultural understanding, of knowing more about the way things are looked at by people in other lands. An accepting view toward other cultures than our own appeared to prevail.

I could not help noticing, however, what seemed to be a hiatus in the faculty-student definition of citizenship at this level. Students were sincerely idealistic in their conceptualizations about society and cultures. For example, in connection with the question of whether there would be a third world war within the next ten to twelve years, a group of seniors seemed generally more sanguine about the possibilities of peace than students I have talked with elsewhere. Students were quite ready to identify major world problems such as those of serious overpopulation, intercultural conflict, and the conflict between colonialism and nationalism in Africa and elsewhere. In reference to such problems, students tended to look to long-term solutions largely through education. When I pressed them on this, they did not seem able to locate, even for problems whose imminence obviously will not brook delay, solutions that could be expected to be speedier than long-term education.

At one point in one of my discussions with the student council,

for example, I asked them what they thought of first when they heard the term *politics* mentioned. Almost without exception, the members of the student council said that they thought of such things as graft, corruption, and the like. When pressed, students admitted that political institutions constituted the only ways in which citizens could directly engage in and affect the operation of government. They also agreed that one of the assumptions of government is that certain things can be accomplished in society by legal controls and legislative actions more expeditiously than they might be by education and other long-term means. When I asked members of the student council whether they had, even at this early date, ever thought of going into politics themselves, nine out of the eleven students present said that they wouldn't want to become involved in politics. Only two students expressed any confidence that politics might be an acceptable field of activity for a citizen. One of these, a girl from a southern state whose father is active in politics in a small way, said she felt that good citizens could help keep politics clean if they would keep an eye on the professional politicians. The only member of the student council who expressed a clear-cut personal approval of the whole idea of going into politics was the editor of the student paper, a boy from Pakistan.

The vision of citizenship on the world scene that the Verde Valley School has achieved is challenging to anyone aware of the tremendous needs for improved intercultural and international understanding on the part of our people. At the same time, student attitudes toward citizenship do not tend toward an acceptance of the importance, value, and necessity of citizen participation in politics in a democratic society. The school experience at Verde Valley appears to be arming boys and girls there with significant values based on an understanding of our own culture and the cultures of other peoples. In so doing, the school is pioneering among institutions of secondary education in the United States. These values, however, need reference to the practicalities of public affairs in our time. On this score it might be objected that adolescents are not ready for exposure to applied politics or participation in public affairs. On the other hand, if students are ready—as they appear to be at Verde Valley—for the study of other

cultures by direct participation in them, and if they are ready for philosophizing about and analyzing the human situation in Western culture, then they may be equally ready for gaining an understanding of the part they can play as citizens in practical politics.

At a less cosmic level, faculty and students of the Verde Valley School are working out other operating definitions of citizenship. Almost universally in secondary education in the United States today, as we have seen earlier, one of the meanings that the word citizenship has for faculty members is what used to be called "deportment" in earlier times. Citizenship in this sense means being well-disciplined and responsible according to adult standards. These standards vary to some extent from school to school, although not very much. At Verde Valley some time ago, these standards were stated in a citizenship evaluation form as follows:

Seriousness of Purpose	Self-Control
Industry: Academic	Cooperation
Industry: Non-Academic	Leadership
Initiative	Personal Appearance
Concern for Others	Room Cleanliness
Responsibility	Manners

These terms, although ambiguous, suggest something of what the Verde Valley School considers to be citizenship at the behavior level. This list of twelve criteria would not differ greatly, except for being more explicit and perhaps more positive, from the criteria commonly found in secondary schools.

In the fall of 1958, the school ended the practice of establishing a periodic list of "good citizens" as defined by rating on the citizenship evaluation form carrying these twelve criteria. Such "good citizens" had been allowed certain special privileges. A new system was being adopted of granting special privileges on the basis of a student's having been on the high academic list for two semesters and then having a satisfactory review of the cumulative record kept on his behavior.

In my discussion with them, the student council expressed unanimous satisfaction that the "citizenship list" was being abandoned and said that they had recommended this. They indicated that they felt recognition of a special sort should not be given to

"good citizens," that it was everyone's obligation to be a good citizen in the true sense of being reliable, dependable, and participating with others for the good of the school. One skeptic on the student council expressed the classic doubt that teenagers have about the euphemisms that adults use. "A good citizen," he said, "is somebody who does what the faculty wants him to do." No one in the student council seemed to disagree with this observation.

A CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

One of the things that impressed me most about the Verde Valley School is most difficult to define. In many ways the whole climate or atmosphere of the school seemed to be conducive to healthy individual development and the learning of responsible social behavior. This was reflected in conversations with individual students and discussions with groups of students.

For example, in their discussion of the "citizenship list," the student council seemed to feel free to express criticisms and differences of opinion in relation to the policies of the school, and to be able to do so freely and without hostility, so that one had the impression that their discussion was much in the nature of commenting constructively on a program in which all felt involved.

Points in Review: Citizenship Education in American High Schools

In Chapter One changes in American public secondary education that are either imminent or already in process were discussed. These changes appear largely in the direction of making the high school a more intensively selective social institution. Forces are pressing hard, and with some success, to make the American public high school more clearly a mechanism for sorting young persons out and giving them instruction according to their capacity to acquire and test well on academic subject matter. The rationalization for this move is that it will enhance maximum individual development and therefore improve the quality and security of national life. No matter how eloquently they are justified, some

of these changes currently being recommended and adopted can be regressive to the degree that they add new emphasis to obsolescent subject matter and obsolete teaching approaches. They can be harmful in a much deeper way if they de-emphasize, distort, or ignore the principle that, along with providing for individual development, American public high schools have a fundamental obligation to help all boys and girls become adults who share in a common democratic citizenship. The kinds of increasing selectivity being proposed may impair the function of the public high school as a common school for citizens, unless compensating changes are devised and adopted.

The present chapter has described the dominant operating assumptions about education for citizenship currently encountered in secondary schools. The data, for the most part, are drawn from public education, but are amplified by reference to certain programs in private education.

The most dominant operating assumption found in American high schools is that citizenship is learned through the curriculum and subject matter of a prescribed instructional program. The curriculum devised for this purpose has a remarkable structural uniformity throughout the country. It is based largely on prescriptions and recommendations, some conflicting, which were made 40-60 years ago. It is heavily oriented toward the repetitive learning of discrete facts of American political and military history and civil government. It includes some reference to similar considerations in the development of Western Europe. The curriculum usually treats contemporary history and problems less than earlier history, and then typically in an abstract and cautious manner. The curriculum and subject matter designated specifically for citizenship education tend uniformly to overlook the social sciences outside of history and government. Economics gets short shrift; anthropology, social psychology, sociology get virtually none at all.

The second most dominant operating assumption in secondary school approaches to citizenship is that it is learned through and revealed in conformance to prescribed standards of in-school conduct. Here we have "deportment" in a new but rather diaphanous guise. Where the total school culture is very powerful, or where

students come from a status background equal or superior to that of their middle-class teachers, overt prescription of conduct standards, such as dress and discipline, may not be particularly necessary. In other school situations, for instance, a large public high school in a low-income suburb, standards of conduct may be very explicitly prescribed. In all cases observed, however, "good citizenship" was equated with "good conduct and behavior," by either implicit understanding or explicit regulation. Nonconforming behavior was generally identified as "poor citizenship," and punished directly or indirectly. Prescription of citizenship standards and ultimate judgment of conformance were universally adult functions in high schools observed.

The third most dominant assumption about citizenship is that it is learned in and through limited student participation in the management of school affairs. Virtually all high schools have avoided a concept of student *self*-government in favor of a limited-participation approach. Implementation of this approach in the high school has an eerie similarity to the kind of government found in a crown colony. Its principal instruments are the student council, which under best conditions serves as an advisory body to the principal and perhaps as an arbiter of specified student activities under his supervision, and school clubs which are variously described as extracurricular or cocurricular. High schools at least nominally assume that student participation through these instruments affords an important way of learning responsible citizenship. The proportion of students involved in student council experience, whatever its quality, is relatively small. Great numbers are recorded as club members, but evidence to support the assumption that such membership is instructive in citizenship is neither abundant nor conclusive.

The fourth most apparent assumption is that citizenship can be learned by experience. To this end, there has been developed a wide range of participatory practices. Some of these have their springboard in the classroom and involve students in "laboratory practices" of community study, field investigation, and simple civic action. Others, perhaps more common, involve a limited number of students, usually adult-selected, in mock civic participation of the "government-for-a-day" variety. A few such programs

are widespread and of sufficient continuity and realism to give students a substantial experience. This whole approach, while strongly encouraged by many educators and training projects, has not become fundamentally characteristic of high school efforts in citizenship education. This approach is greatly overshadowed by the effort to teach citizenship out of books, memorized historical facts, homework, recitation, and testing.

The assumption least apparent in practice, if not the least verbalized, is that good citizenship (i.e., *basic values, positive self-concepts, affirmative and responsible social relations, democratic skills, a functional grasp of relevant information) can be learned in and through the total culture of the school.* In practice, most high schools appear neither to comprehend accurately nor to utilize adequately the full meaning of this assumption. All of them engender a social climate, a social structure, systems of values, normative social processes, varieties of roles and status, and the other paraphernalia of a subculture. The totality of these, however, is usually not consciously perceived or intellectualized by the school officials directly concerned. The school culture, in relation to conscious educational ends, is typically diffuse. The culture is not rationally comprehended and directed to the support of democratic value development, the search of individuals for positive identity, and the learning of democratic behavior. In another context I have said that

> The American secondary school in some ways helps to remove the adolescent from the mainstream of the significant civic, social, and economic life of the community he lives in. It does not often bring the adolescent into rich, positive interchange and experience with the dynamic general society. Instead the high school provides an experience of organized isolation from the regular community, featuring the study of subject matter that is generally discrete from adolescent life. The school tends to reward those adolescents who are most submissive both to the isolation and the subject matter study, and to punish those who exhibit independence in either. In addition, the high school tends to make the adolescent's own associations fragmented and difficult. Within the high school, time periods of association in classes are too short to allow for the adequate maturing of group membership and rela-

> tionships, and there is not enough time for most adolescents to know, and be known by, the adults who teach and evaluate them.
>
> *There is too little in the high school experience that enables* adolescents to live as useful people whose lives have increasing meaning for themselves and others.*

The program of the Verde Valley School was described as an uncharacteristic and informative example of a total school culture operating in support of citizenship development.

Implications: Civic Education for the Next America

Each of the five assumptions about citizenship and the high school program recapitulated in the preceding section is operative in most present-day American secondary schools. The assumptions themselves make logical sense. They constitute a structure of operating formulations about the high school program with which we are required to deal. Put more positively, these assumptions provide an accepted framework within which new developments in practice and new efforts in research and evaluation may usefully proceed. This chapter does not criticize the five assumptions *per se*, because each has a significant potentiality. Each, depending on how it is interpreted and put to work, can give impetus to a strong, adequate high school program of instruction in citizenship.

Present inadequacies in civic education do not stem from these assumptions so much as from the practice undertaken in their name. Two main assertions about present inadequacies of practice are relevant both to the analysis that I have presented and to the problems of future action and research in the improvement of civic education.

First, school practice, in more cases than not, either falls unfortunately short of the potentiality suggested by each of these assumptions or is relatively inappropriate to the civic training

---

**Youth Search for Freedom and Significance: Preliminary Report of the Youth Community Participation Project.* New York: New York University School of Education, 1956, p. 2.

needs of today and tomorrow. This is not to condemn present practice out of hand, nor to overlook those places where school practices in civic education are vital, creative, and appropriate. Instead, it is to understand widespread practical realities so that we can go forward sensibly. It would be surprising indeed if there were not observable inadequacies in the civic training practices of our universal system of secondary education, which has grown so vast in such a short interval of time. It would be surprising, too, if some part of these practices were not obsolescent and inappropriate in an age of constantly accelerating technological, social, economic, and political change. Our challenge in secondary civic education is to identify inadequacy and inappropriateness in practice and do something constructive about it.

Second, it is clear that present practice, rationalized in terms of these five assumptions, has largely developed without adequate reference to research and evaluation. In other words, great expenditures of money, time, and effort are made to implement these assumptions without adequate evaluation of the effectiveness of practice in terms of citizenship growth. Such evaluation as occurs in high schools, except in the course of special research or action projects, is usually limited to testing for the acquisition and short-term retention of information and concepts arising out of specific subject matter. Evaluation of the effectiveness of present practices in promoting the development of growth in civic skills, in attitude and value formation, and in other dimensions of citizenship, tends to be subjective, if it exists at all. As a consequence, practice in this highly complex field of instruction and learning is typically conducted without the correcting feedback that scientific evaluation could help provide.

My first assertion above is inseparable from the second. To identify and understand whatever inadequacies exist in present practice requires long-term objective evaluation. To determine appropriateness of old and new practices requires research of a broad experimental kind. At present, neither of these functions is being provided for American secondary civic education in any substantial way.

The present study has deliberately sought to bring a group of

social scientists and research specialists together with a group of educational practitioners. Our intention has been to associate social science and school practice in the further development of civic education. The study reported in this volume suggests some of the many points at which scientists and practitioners can be of significant help to one another in approaching the education of adolescents for adult citizenship. Programs projected beyond this study should seek to enlarge and give needed continuity to the productive relationship of educational practitioners and social scientists. Such a relationship could lead to a breakthrough in secondary school civic education comparable to that now under way in secondary school physics education as a result of the collaboration of physicists at Massachusetts Institute of Technology with high school teachers.

Each of the five assumptions described in this chapter provides a basis for the re-examination of goals and definitions, for the development of practice aimed at greater adequacy and appropriateness, and for evaluation. Alternatives are almost innumerable when one considers how these assumptions could be built upon in practice and research.

For example, let us look for a moment at just one of the developments possible under the assumption that citizenship can be learned through the regular curriculum and instructional program of the high school. Currently, this assumption is expressed most frequently in practice through courses in history and government. If citizenship goals and definitions include the achievement of broader intercultural insight and empathy, interesting new departures in high school subject matter would be appropriate. At both the Verde Valley School and Germantown Friends School, for example, anthropology has been introduced as a subject of study in the early years of the high school experience. A strong case could be made for introducing subject matter of the other "newer" social sciences into the broad civic instruction of today's youth, instead of relying, as now, almost solely on history for the insights and generalizations that citizens need about their society and its relationships. Such a move would aim at updating the social studies curriculum, recognizing and using the accrual of

social knowledge that has come in the period since the Committee of Ten and President McKinley, and generally heightening the intellectual quality and excitement of classroom work. The work of Hilda Taba and others in this area suggests that opening up high school instruction about society to draw on some of the resources of anthropology, psychology, and sociology is not only possible but productive of learnings that are crucial to democratic citizenship. Such innovation in subject-matter content and methods of instruction would provide natural opportunities for evaluation as well as for research in attitude, value, and identity formation. So, too, would other alternatives for enriching and revising the content that is offered to boys and girls in their clasroom study of civic issues, problems, and developments. Economics, international relations, and comparative ethics contain elements of knowledge and viewpoint, awareness of which would seem essential to civic literacy in a complex age. Individual and group study guided by creative teachers in these and other areas are going forward in certain schools. It would be constructive to strengthen such practices deliberately in experimental situations and study on a long-term basis the impact of "newer" knowledge on civic awareness and citizen performance.

Space has permitted mentioning only one example of possible innovation and evaluation in connection with one of the prevalent assumptions about high school citizenship education. Each of the other four assumptions would be fruitful of new possibilities for improving and studying the process of civic education. Citizenship as the learning of conformance to standards of personal behavior, citizenship as learned through participation in school management, citizenship as acquired through civic experience and direct community study, and citizenship as learned in the total culture of the school are all potentially productive ideas in terms of practice and research.

The five assumptions we have reviewed have an interrelatedness and essential unity. They represent much of what has already been achieved in American civic education. They point ahead to needs and opportunities for future educational development on sound ground, and to important opportunities for research in the development of mature democratic behavior.

NOTES

1. See Harry L. Wellbank, "The Social Studies in U. S. Secondary Education." *The Clearing House*. 27:76 *ff*., October, 1952.
2. *Ibid*., p. 77.
3. For a fuller treatment of these committees, see I. James Quillen and Lavone A. Hanna, *Education for Social Competence: Curriculum and Instruction in Secondary-School Social Studies*. New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1948, pp. 2-12.
4. Rolla M. Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935, p. 20.
5. *Idem*.
6. The Committee on Social Studies, Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, National Education Association, *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*. U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 28. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916, pp. 52-53.
7. Edgar Dawson, quoted by Quillen and Hanna, *op. cit*., p. 8.
8. Educational Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy: A Case Book in Civic Education*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1940, p. 43.
9. *Ibid*., pp. 44 and 45.
10. *Ibid*., p. 124.
11. John J. Mahoney, *For Us the Living: An Approach to Civic Education*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945, p. 38.
12. *Ibid*., p. 39.
13. *Idem*.
14. *Idem*.
15. *Ibid*., p. 40.
16. *Ibid*., pp. 265-275.
17. *Education For Citizenship*, Report of the Committee Appointed by the Commissioners of Education of the Northeastern States. Cambridge: The Commissioners, 1952, p. 2.
18. See, for example, Jonathon C. McClendon, "Significant Trends in the Social Studies Curriculum, 1952-1955." *Social Education*, 21:213-16, May, 1957.
19. Thirty-Second Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, *Educating for American Citizenship*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1954, p. 389.
20. Richard E. Gross, Leslie D. Zeleny, and Associates, *Educating Citizens for Democracy: Curriculum and Instruction in Secondary Studies*. New York: Oxford Press, 1958, p. 70.
21. Letter from Lee Wilborn, Assistant Commissioner for Instruction, Texas Education Agency, Austin, Texas, to Franklin K. Patterson, Tufts University, Medford 55, Massachusetts, September 19, 1958. (This and all other letters cited were in reply to an inquiry about the current practices and areas where improvement could be made in citizenship education which was sent by Franklin K. Patterson in the late summer of 1958. This inquiry was addressed to the commissioners of education of all the states and to the principals of 38 leading high schools throughout the country.)

22. Letter from Warren W. Knox, Assistant Commissioner for Instructional Services, The State Education Department, The University of the State of New York, Albany 1. September 17, 1958.

23. Letter from Thomas D. Bailey, Superintendent, Department of Education, State of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida. September 22, 1958.

24. Letter from John M. Kemper, Headmaster, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. September 22, 1958.

25. Letter from J. Arthur Nelson, Principal, Central High School, Omaha, Nebraska, September 11, 1958.

26. Letter from Harold Howe II, Principal, Newton High School, Newtonville, Massachusetts. September 19, 1958.

27. Letter from William G. Pyles, Principal, Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, Bethesda, Maryland. September 15, 1958.

28. Letter from John F. McNeill, Principal, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, New York. September 17, 1958.

29. For a detailed description of the history program at Phillips Exeter, see Henry W. Bragdon, "A History Program for Able Students." *Social Education*, 22: 107-109, March, 1958.

30. Truman Leroy Hall, "A Study of the Teaching of Controversial Issues in the Secondary Schools of the State of Ohio." *Dissertation Abstracts*, volume 18, May, 1958.

31. *The Journal of Social Issues*, 11:33-41.

32. Paul E. Elicker, "The Development of the Student Participation Movement," in *The Student Council in the Secondary School*, Handbook for Student Councils and their Sponsors. Washington: National Association of Secondary-School Principals, 1955, p. 1.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

34. *Idem.*

35. "Aims and Objectives of the Student Council," in Elicker, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 8.

36. For a description of an action research supported by the National Self-Government Committee, see *Youth as Citizens: A Study of Adolescent Self-Direction and Social Responsibility*, Franklin K. Patterson, editor. Human Relations Monograph 7. New York: New York University, 1956, 71 pp.

37. Elicker, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

38. *Idem.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. Letter from Afton Forsgren, Assistant Director, Secondary Education, Department of Public Instruction, State of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. September 9, 1958.

41. Letter from H. Maine Shoun, State High School Supervisor, Department of Education, State of Idaho, Boise, Idaho. September 4, 1958.

42. Letter from Arthur C. Anderson, Supervisor, Research and Publications, Department of Public Instruction, State of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa. September 10, 1958.

43. Letter from George L. Cleland, Director of Instructional Services, Kansas State Department of Public Instruction, Topeka, Kansas. September 10, 1958.

44. Letter from A. P. Bennett, Supervisor, Secondary Education, Depart-

ment of Education, State of Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi. September 11, 1958.

45. Letter from Floyd A. Miller, Assistant Commissioner, Division of Supervision, Department of Education, State of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska. September 10, 1958.

46. Letter from Roland B. Kimball, Chief, Division of Instruction, Department of Education, State of New Hampshire, Concord, New Hampshire. September 10, 1958.

47. Letter from Clarence D. Stephenson, Advisor, History Education, Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. September 18, 1958.

48. Letter from William G. Pyles, *op cit.*

49. Letter from L. R. Thrailkill, Director of Student Activities, Shaker Heights High School, Shaker Heights, Ohio. September 30, 1958.

50. Letter from Nelson Mills, Principal, Mount Lebanon High School, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. September 17, 1958.

51. Letter, Harold Howe II, *op. cit.*

52. Thirty-Second Yearbook, American Association of School Administrators, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

53. Laboratory Practice Topic: Elections, #5, undated card. New York: Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University.

54. Letter from Howard E. Rowe, Assistant State Superintendent, Secondary Education, Department of Public Instruction, State of Delaware, Dover, Delaware. September 16, 1958.

55. *Annual Report of the Division of Civic Education*, 1958. Boston: Massachusetts State Department of Education, 1958, p. 1.

56. Letter from Clarence A. Brock, State Supervisor of Secondary Schools, Department of Education, State of West Virginia, Charleston, West Virginia. September 5, 1958.

57. Letter from R. R. Vance, Director, Instructional Administration, Department of Education, State of Tennessee, Nashville, Tennessee. September 8, 1958.

58. Letter, Clarence D. Stephenson, *op. cit.*

59. Letter, Floyd A. Miller, *op. cit.*

60. Letter, H. Maine Shoun, *op. cit.*

61. Letter from Howard A. Matthews, Assistant Commissioner, Instructional Services, Department of Education, Territory of Alaska, Juneau, Alaska. September 26, 1958.

62. For a more detailed description of these programs, see Harry Bard, "Baltimore Helps Its Youth to Take Citizenship Responsibilities Seriously." *The Maryland Teacher*, 13:8-10, 29-31, December, 1955; 13:14-15, 32-34, January, 1956. See also *1958 Bill Book, Fifth Annual Legislative Session, Baltimore Model Youth City Council, May 8 and 9*. Baltimore: Baltimore City Department of Education, 1958.

63. Pamphlet, "Meet a Million Members of the Catholic Civics Clubs of America." Washington: The Commission on American Citizenship, Catholic University of America, 1955, 8 pp.

64. Archibald B. Shaw and John Lion Reid, "The Random Falls Idea." *The School Executive*, March, 1956, reprint, p. 7.

BACKGROUNDS

OF

RESEARCH

CHAPTER SIX

Mass Communications and the Citizenship of Secondary School Youth

GEORGE GERBNER

THE TASK OF THIS CHAPTER IS TO HELP PROVIDE PART OF the background of evidence needed to plan for next steps in the citizenship education of high-school-age youth. The present focus is on relationships between varied attributes of adolescent citizenship and the mass media of communications. The area of studies reviewed lies in the general field of mass-communications research.

The first two sections deal with patterns of participation in communication and citizenship activities, and with some relationships between social attitudes, conduct, and the mass media. The third section continues to review research evidence, but in the structure of some theoretical implications that might be suggestive of major dimensions of influence. The final section presents further implications for research and action.

Since in any such review of research the emphasis inevitably tends to shift, sooner or later, to the problem of effects, some preliminary remarks on the nature of mass-communication effects might be appropriate.

The basic long-term "effect" of mass communication is the slow infiltration and coloring of the individual's view of the world, noted the recent statement of the Educational Policies Commission on *Mass Communication and Education.*[1] And it continued in a paragraph worth citing:

> Communication changes people, not by sharp, well-directed steering, but in a slow and almost imperceptible alteration. The opinion which a seventeen-year-old student has about the Soviet Union is not the result of hearing one newscast, or even many newscasts; it is a soft-edged amalgam of things read, seen, talked about in the dormitories, worried about in the middle of the night. Communications feed all these processes. His opinions about religion, diet, bridge, and Social Security are a mosaic of the same kind, made of thousands of now forgotten pieces. Communications supplied most of the pieces. Some of the things seen and heard persuaded; some offended; many simply bored him, but nevertheless had an effect; some were perceived even though he was unaware of perceiving. Communication research has only begun to assess this complex.

Attempts to assess this complex brought to light certain broad regularities and consistencies in mass-media-related behaviors of many kinds. They have also uncovered paradoxical reversals and sobering uncertainties. In a recent statement of general principles emerging from studies on mass-media effects, Klapper[2] arrived at some conclusions; I would like to paraphrase them in part and to point them in the direction of our special interests.

1. Mass communication functions in and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences. It is selected and used in terms of existing developmental and peer-group needs. Therefore it tends to be a reinforcing and conservative influence, rather than one impelling toward change. Its conservative tendency is further enhanced by cultural industries' need for holding large audiences on the basis of consumer wants.
2. When mass communication does function in the service of

change, we usually find that (a) the particular issue involved is not too salient to group norms, or (b) the particular person is not well integrated into a group structure, or does not value his membership too highly, or (c) group norms themselves are impelling toward change through switch in loyalties, through dysfunctioning of old norms, or through the emergence of new situations relatively unrelated to existing attitudes.

3. In certain situations there may be direct effects, especially as measured by averages of individual behavior without much regard to the social context in which these behaviors are put to use. These direct effects, whether of the change or of the reinforcement type, are determined not only by content but also by the context of the communication activity, and by the availability of channels through which to translate perceptions into overt behavior.

These general statements might serve as a framework for the examination of research evidence, to be amplified and qualified as we go along. But before we turn to our review of research, let me offer some additional suggestions.

Today's adolescent generation is the first to reach maturity in what is in many ways a new American popular culture. While adolescent subcultures have been studied from many points of view, there is a relative paucity of research concerning the increased demands of mass-produced popular culture on young people's attention and time, and its effects on the quality of teenage life. Compared to our knowledge of what it takes to be a consumer or a member of this or that audience, our insight into what it means to grow up in the new American culture is slight.

Some note with concern that teenagers claim a large, and in some respects dominant, share of this popular culture as their own. But we are reminded in the recent summary of the Purdue studies on adolescent attitudes that "the idols, living and dead, may indeed be unhealthy symbols of an unhappy time. But let's remember that . . . all are the creation of adult minds and adult money."[3] And, as Edgar Dale once wrote, "The mass producers of entertainment and the advertisers are sometimes in closer touch with the needs and wants of children and young people than are their teachers."

I am pointing out these basic facts of American cultural life to avoid the subtle misanthropy often implied in examinations of popular tastes and habits. The "people get what they deserve" philosophy ignores the actual choices and terms of decision faced by the adolescent or by the businessman; in short, it ignores the social realities of the cultural scene.

Public Affairs

No matter how we try to measure it, the conclusion is inescapable that the "average" American high school student's knowledge of and interest in public affairs and social problems is, to put it mildly, low and resistant to change. As Remmers and Radler[4] discovered, high school civics courses produce no significant effects on political or social awareness; indeed, where differences are noted at all, they seem to be the opposite of what might have been expected. And, as Jacob found,[5] neither do college courses in social science produce significant shifts in social attitudes and values. What about the mass media?

The mass media provide an assortment of powerfully concentrated and compelling views of the world pretty much as the customers wish to see it. Media-content analysts observe that public affairs and politics in popular drama and fiction play a role that is generally both unsavory and insignificant. Private goals predominate over public goals; teachers and scientists often appear in a most uninspiring light; and the portrayal or omission of minority groups is such as to seek out hostile predispositions even among the indifferent.[6]

Swanson's study of adult news readership[7] sheds some light on the general public-affairs content and readership of 130 daily newspapers. The study found that the number of news stories devoted to international, national, state, and local governmental affairs, to labor, loyalty investigations, politics, taxes, and finance was a total of eighteen and two-tenths per cent of all the stories appearing in the papers. The combined readership of all these stories was only fourteen and one-tenth per cent of the total readership of all stories.

On the whole, adolescents exhibit no more interest in public affairs in the media, or in life, than their elders. Only three per cent of the Gillespie and Allport[8] sample of American college freshmen (a relatively select group) chose "being active or serving in public affairs" or "being a useful citizen of one's country" as an accomplishment to be "most proud of." One in five American students conceived of "participation as a citizen in the affairs of your community" as a source of any satisfaction at all. These percentages seem fairly close to defining the over-all proportion of adolescents (and adults) who expose themselves to mass-media content directly concerned with public affairs, who entertain notions of civic pride or responsibility, or who see any sense in course work along these lines.[9]

The newspaper is considered a source of *news* to six out of ten high school students. Of those, three in five read foreign news, and one in five admits glancing at political news. The majority claim to read for entertainment.

Berelson's study of "What 'Missing the Newspaper' Means"[10] shows the range of "rational" and "nonrational" uses to which the newspaper is actually put. Reading the paper serves a variety of substitute gratifications and ritualistic functions which have little, if anything, to do with the functions of the press in a self-governing society. They are, however, intimately related to its marketing and commodity roles, some of which seem to have a special appeal to juvenile dispositions. The reading of crime and disaster news and of comic strips, for example, is most popular in the teens.[11]

Radio news is the "most disliked" category on the air, but seven out of ten adolescents report being unable to escape it.[12] About three per cent of high school students express interest in TV news programs; few, if any, show interest in panels or forums devoted to public issues.[13]

These findings, however, perhaps conceal as much as they reveal of the actual patterns of mass-media utilization in relation to public affairs. For one thing, we can expect fractionated audiences and interest in media of such diversified appeals. But even more importantly, these "on the whole" data hide significant differences in the distribution of attention among the media, in

the ebb and flow of attention with time, and in the actual quality of public life in different communities and in different subcultures within communities.

MEDIA FACTORS

Younger persons from better-educated families tend to use more sources for news and public-affairs information and spend *proportionately* less time on newspapers than do the others.[14] While generally people now rely on television most for political *campaign* information, younger people with a superior home and school background appear to use both magazines and radio more than do the others.[15] Whether one tries to relate informational level to television[16] or to movies,[17] one finds that *among the better informed* more use the medium than among the less informed or less interested. One also finds, however, that among the addicts of *any one medium* there is a larger percentage of the uninformed and uninterested.

These observations are consistent with the view that media habits and preferences function in the context of general patterns of life. Gedelecia,[18] for example, showed that those who devote more time to a more diversified use of the media also tend to be more active in civic affairs. Equally significant, however, was his finding of a reversal: the more likely a person is to be a user of varied media, the less likely he is to be a member of a labor union. Diversified use of the media thus tends to go with greater selectivity and generally richer patterns of middle- and upper-class life. Conversely, the media offer no corresponding richness of appeal for those less identified with the values of a middle-class, consumer-oriented popular culture. Here we find greater concentration on fewer media, as well as special reliance on content types which tend to correlate negatively with social awareness and public-affairs participation.[19]

Additional suggestions are implicit in the data collected by Katz and Lazarsfeld[20] on the flow of mass-media influence. They found "opinion leadership" primarily a higher-class group affair. But while "opinion leaders" *exposed themselves* more to more media than did the others, they tended to *rely* on each of these media *less* than did the others and to place greater reliance on personal

contact. The "nonleaders" apparently did not read, hear, or see public-affairs content in the media as widely as the "leaders." However, they were apparently influenced more by what they did find in the media than were the leaders.

In a large-scale study of children's radio listening, Ricciuti[21] found that content preferences reflect, among other things, public-affairs orientation. Regular listeners to educational, drama, and news programs on the air scored higher on all tests of intelligence and general scholastic achievement (including history-civics and attitude toward law) than did nonlisteners. Regular listeners to crime, adventure, popular music, and daytime serial programs scored consistently lower on most of these tests.

Herzog[22] found that the pattern of life in which listening to daytime serials looms large is distinct from other patterns primarily in the listeners' low level of education and lack of interest in public affairs. Gerbner's study of the somewhat similar content and social role of the confession magazine[23] suggested some reasons for such results.

There is general agreement in studies that girls show less interest than boys in public affairs and in news reading in general.[24] However, if the adult sex pattern is any indication, girls would be more likely to read news of a "human interest" type and news or features about health, safety, charity, education, and the family. Also girls would tend to favor local over national and world news against the reverse order of interest for boys.[25]

Many of the conflicting data on public-affairs interest and participation can be accounted for in terms of differences in "the times" or in the communities observed. During the thirties and early forties, for example, Democrats showed a preference in public affairs for radio (through which Roosevelt often spoke) as against a greater Republican reliance on newspapers (through which he didn't). This effect was observed in later campaigns;[26] but it also coincides with class-related preferences among the media.

During World War II, high school students showed a marked increase of interest in foreign affairs, war news, religion, and pictures in general. (The last probably reflects the generally increased number of news "readers.") Correspondingly, interest

decreased in society and fraternal news, sports, labor, school, and (appropriately enough) in travel news.

The obvious conclusion was voiced in the Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee studies on the role of the mass media in voting.[27] It appears to be this: a large part of political and public-affairs exposure is a matter of pressure and stimulation exercised by the social environment rather than a matter of any of the mass media pursuing any special functions as agencies of citizenship development in democratic society.

COMMUNITY FACTORS

Certain differences in adolescent patterns of public-affairs participation and news-seeking behavior undoubtedly reflect community differences. Studies reviewed and conducted by Wiebe[28] clearly indicate that "educability" in public affairs is directly related to the availability of community facilities for *acting* upon such education. These studies show that people become motivated and interested to the degree that they find personally appropriate and directly accessible channels for translating information into action. To the degree that such facilities are lacking, information and education are not only likely to be avoided, but are likely to backfire; they raise the general level of *apathy* and *disinterestedness*.

This is part of a variously described phenomenon: Merton[29] terms it "anomie"; Brodbeck[30] observed it among teenagers as the striking pattern of "emotional quietism" in class discussion of public affairs; Rosenberg[31] explained it in terms of alienation from society; and Lazarsfeld and Merton[32] described it as the "narcotizing dysfunction" of the mass media. In the absence of meaningful primary contact with public affairs in his community and nation, the reader seeks, and the press provides, an ever broader array of substitute gratifications. Furthermore, under these conditions, even the exposure to a flood of information may narcotize rather than energize the average reader or listener. Under such circumstances, even the public affairs news seeker

> . . . takes his secondary contact with the world of political reality, his reading and listening and thinking, as a vicarious per-

> formance. He comes to mistake *knowing* about problems of the day for doing something about them. His social conscience remains spotlessly clean. He *is* concerned. He *is* informed. And he has all sorts of ideas as to what should be done. But, after he has gotten through his dinner and after he has listened to his favored . . . programs and after he has read his second newspaper of the day, it is really time for bed. . . . In this peculiar respect, mass *communication may be included among the most respectable and* efficient of social narcotics.[33]

These visions of self-reinforcing apathy, fed by the media and fed by education, regardless of whether educators do too little or too much, may be overdrawn; but they do point to the quality of public *life* in the community as a decisive factor in citizenship. Young people cannot help but learn that activity in the private and the economic spheres is most applauded and rewarded. Politics appears in the light of uninspiring, if not corrupt, housekeeping activity.[34] The consequent feeling of remoteness from meaningful action in public affairs is seized upon by the media to portray politics (if at all) for its entertainment value, as a spectacle. Nor has the impact of these developments escaped teachers and social scientists; politics is increasingly viewed in textbooks as a *delicate game of pressure and counterpressure in* some self-equilibrating field, rather than as a matter of ideology and principle of personal relevance to every citizen. Let me also include here communication researchers, who, as Albig's study[35] showed, vastly expanded their measurement and discussion of communications activity "in terms of process, technique, stimuli, impact, effects, and semantic analysis, but not in terms of the ethical and value problems of communications content and effect."

Future research can *ill afford to waste energies looking for* single "devils" or for singular remedies. More profitable, instead, might be to go on with the much more rewarding task of inquiring into the broadest possible context of circumstances *in which* young people can and do assume more self-directing roles.

Before we can speculate profitably about new patterns, however, we must go on to observe more of what is known and note more precisely what is not known of the existing patterns. It is

possible now to begin to identify two polar clusters of interrelated behaviors that appear to hinge on a meaningful association of mass-media activity with public-affairs participation in our culture. We can characterize these two clusters as (1) the seeking-out pattern, and (2) the avoidance pattern. The first one is a predominantly upper- and middle-class pattern, although by no means a general characteristic of these classes. The second one is the dominant and a characteristically lower-class pattern.

SOME FACTORS IN AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOR

While the two clusters appear to be basically socially and culturally determined, there is, of course, no one-to-one relationship between these patterns and social status or any other single criterion. Research, especially in connection with citizenship education campaigns and public informational attempts, is replete with examples of "paradoxical" findings that testify to the durable elasticity of the dominant avoidance pattern. This, of course, is in harmony with our previous general observations on learning through communication.

Those who might be assumed to "need" most a certain type of message, a message which is not in harmony with group-anchored norms or even unrationalized behaviors, will be the least likely to expose themselves to it and the most likely to "misperceive" it; *i.e.*, adapt it to their existing structure of behavior and attitudes. (This principle is one psychological source of the difference between the public-affairs orientation of the mass media, which cannot afford to lose appeal by cultivating the minority market of seeking-out patterns, and of education, which cannot afford to "succeed" by exploiting the dominant cultural characteristic of avoidance patterns.) Reporting some classic experiments on how the understanding of antiprejudice messages is evaded by prejudiced people, Cooper and Jahoda[36] remarked that such "evasion appears as a well-practiced behavior, which receives encouragement from the social structure in which we live."

It may not be entirely irrelevant to relate one recent illustration[37] of the flexibility of avoidance patterns. It comes from Cannell and MacDonald's study[38] of the impact of health news on attitudes.

The subject of the inquiry was the publicity given to the relationship between smoking and lung cancer. It was found that this news split the population four ways: along class lines (as measured by educational level) and between smokers and nonsmokers. Among nonsmokers, the more highly educated tended to accept the relationship as demonstrated. Among smokers, the finding was reversed: the more highly educated smokers tended to *reject* the relationship more than the less-educated smokers. Sophistication, too, may serve the purposes of evasion. Behavior may act as an anchor resisting shifts in attitude as much as attitudes tend to organize behavior in patterns consistent to their structure.

Learning the Social Sciences from the Lively Arts

For the above subtitle, I am indebted to Arthur J. Brodbeck[39] and his associates, who conducted a series of interviews with high school students to discover some mechanisms operating among adolescents exposed to some of the more serious mass-media materials which might facilitate or inhibit interest in the social sciences.

They found indications that films and the other media do have an impact on adolescents, but that the stimulation they provide is not utilized within the peer group nor in the classroom to further interest in social issues. Conversation among teenagers about serious pictures and programs on "Communism," "segregation," and "union rackets" appeared to be reduced to Marlon Brando's style or the funny mannerisms of screen Communists. The study found evidence of strong emotions aroused and suppressed. To be carried away by ideas was thought to be odd. The teenagers were exposed in these materials to highly charged problems of social life, commented the investigators, but both parents and teachers conspired to "protect" them from full and open discussion of these problems.

Teachers were reported to look upon mass-media materials as primarily interfering with studies, or as consisting of nothing but

Table I[41]

Probably Significant Differences Between Movie and Non-Movie Children

(From Shuttleworth-May)

Measures	*Group Having the Highest Average*	*Critical Ratios*
Deportment	Non-movie	7.3
Scholastic marks	Non-movie	3.8
Teacher ratings, character traits	Non-movie	3.5
Pupil ratings, "Guess Who"	*Non-movie*	*4.6*
Reputation for cooperation	Non-movie	4.0
Reputation for self-control	Non-movie	3.4
Total reputation	Non-movie	9.4
Cooperation, total conduct score	Non-movie	6.2
Efficiency cooperation	Non-movie	4.7
Envelopes cooperation	Non-movie	4.1
Self-control	*Non-movie*	*3.6*
In-school honesty	Non-movie	4.1
Named more often on "Guess Who"	Movie	3.5
Named more often as best friends	Movie	3.3

Let us elaborate on the more salient findings. Each pupil was rated on reputation by two teachers and by his classmates. Teachers' ratings on character traits consistently favored the non-movie group. Significant trait differences and critical ratios were reported in deportment (CR 7.3), school marks (CR 3.8), and character traits (CR 3.5).

Students were given twenty-four-item "Guess Who?" tests, asking them to guess who fitted certain designated characteristics. The difference "in favor" of the non-movie group was 4.6 times its probable error. On an item count, movie children were mentioned most frequently, in relation to non-movie children, on the following characteristics: "This one is always picking on others and annoying them." "This one is always trying to get by with the least possible trouble and effort to himself." "This one doesn't obey the rules if he can get out of it." Non-movie children were mentioned most *frequently in answers to: "Here is someone who is kind to younger* children. . . ." "Here is someone who is always doing little things to make others happy." "*This is someone who is decent and clean* in all conversation."

On other tests, movie children were found to do poorer work in

their school subjects, exhibited less self-control both as measured by ratings and by conduct tests, were slightly less skillful in judging what the test makers considered the most useful and helpful or sensible thing to do in problem situations, and were slightly less emotionally stable. There were no significant differences in honesty, persistence, suggestibility, and moral knowledge.

The combined teacher-pupil reputation score favored the non-movie children by 9.4 of its probable error.

On a cooperation test which involved working for an individual as against a class prize, the non-movie children "won" by a significant (CR 4.7) margin. On four batteries of Hartshorne and May tests, only the difference on the "Good Citizenship" battery approached significance (CR 2.5), again in favor of the non-movie group.

However, equally interesting was the observation that movie children were mentioned on all tests much more often than were non-movie children. Their names appeared to come more readily to mind; they were better known to more of their classmates. Their movie going appeared to be a part of their own peer-group integration. And while they were perhaps not so highly esteemed for their reputations and general conduct, they were more *popular among their peers*. On a "best friend" test, movie children were superior (CR 3.3). It was suggestive of a dating pattern, possibly associated with movie going, that among the girls twice as many movie goers as non-movie goers named *boys* as best friends.

At the conclusion of this first phase of the study based on the analysis of the Character Education Inquiry data, the investigators noted the absence of differences on many other tests. They suggested that movie children and non-movie children were essentially alike and that most of the differences were behavioral, rather than in possession of ethical or moral knowledge; *i.e.*, the ability to distinguish between "right and wrong."

Following these suggestive findings derived from a generalized test of conduct and reputation, the investigators decided to narrow their scope to specific attitudes that may be more directly related to motion-picture content. They drew up a list of hypotheses derived from the findings of these and other studies and from

assertions made most frequently by critics of the movies. They designed questionnaire tests to measure these hypotheses and gave these tests to equated groups of 416 movie and 443 non-movie students. It is worth while to cite from their summary in some detail:

> There is evidence to show that movie children admire or are more interested in cowboys, popular actors, dancers, and chorus girls while non-movie children are more interested in such types as the medical student and college professor. Interest in a type, however, does not indicate approval. In the case of chorus girls, the movie children more than non-movie children say that few chorus girls are worth-while members of society. According to expectations the movie children tend to say that most policemen torture and mistreat those suspected of crime; that most Spaniards are impractical, romantic, and love-makers; that few Russians are kind and generous. Contrary to expectations, the movie children deny that social workers are busybodies; the movie children believe that few Frenchmen are romantic and impractical. . . .
>
> While there are no differences in attitudes toward crime and criminals, there is some evidence that movie children believe that few criminals escape their just punishment. On the question of the criminal reforming and also involving indirectly sex attitudes, there is evidence that under certain conditions the movie children expect the hero to carry the girl off by force or compel her to dance with him. No difference was found in approval or disapproval of such conduct.
>
> Akin to these two tendencies which involve judgment of what is likely to happen is the willingness of the movie children to strain all probability in order to enable the hero to escape. Consistent with the data of Chapter II[42] showing the movie children to be poorly adjusted to school is evidence showing that the movie children believe few teachers to be too easy and few schoolbooks to be interesting. . . .
>
> In the field of miscellaneous dislikes the movie children are relatively more indifferent to distress and famine in India and China and relatively more concerned over losing a good friend. The movie children read more but the quality of the reading is not as high. They go to more dances. They report more recreations in which parents participate.[43]

Some Theoretical Implications

Shuttleworth and May's general summary and interpretation of the findings of their classic study is an original and little-remembered source of much "recent" theorizing about mass-media uses and effects among young people. Their significance, if anything, is heightened by default: the study has never been duplicated by more refined methods on a comparable scale. Nor am I aware of any substantial criticism of the procedures employed or results arrived at by these investigators.[44]

Aside from the substantive importance of these findings in regard to citizenship conduct and social attitudes of movie fans (which may or may not be specifically generalizable to today's conditions), there are theoretical implications in these data which permit us to structure our review of further evidence along more suggestive lines. These implications could not be fully developed by the authors themselves; today, however, considerable research may be cited to support their relevance to further tasks.

First, we should note some weaknesses in the shotgun approach of using a large number of subjects, presuming to equate major differences, and focusing on the single variable of movie attendance. In such a study (as, *e.g.*, also in that of Ricciuti), the area of overlapping is maximized. Differences in community life are difficult to account for and tend to wash out differential effects of movie attendance. Related differences also tend to obscure differential uses of content. Indeed, ninety per cent of the total number of comparisons made by Shuttleworth and May showed no significant difference between the two groups.

Secondly, the differences that *were* obtained in this early study suggest certain hypotheses which, while perhaps not entirely novel, can now be more clearly formulated and illustrated with supporting research.

Shuttleworth and May themselves noted that "in the area of attitudes where we expected to find differences and labored diligently to frame questions to reveal them, the total of our findings is more negative than positive whereas the Character Education tests of conduct and reputation which seemed far removed from

the movies have handsomely rewarded a modicum of labor with many significant differences."[45] They were also struck by the high specificity of such attitude differences as were found between the movie and non-movie children.

These observations suggest, as other studies also indicate, that patterns of life and conduct bear a greater relationship to mass-media consumption than do overt attitudes. They further suggest that attitudinal relationships, when found, tend to be specific to mass-media content and thus to function in the context of the behavior patterns of which certain content preferences and consumption habits are a part.

A further significant observation made by Shuttleworth and May is the statement that many of the findings classified under "attitudes" really involve children's "judgment of what is likely to happen" rather than what is approved. Movies had more to do with their perception of reality and conception of what the facts might be than with their explicit *evaluation* of reality. And finally, the behavior and attitude of movie fans appeared to come close to a class-linked pattern.

These suggestions, consistent with other studies, will be discussed under the categories of (1) behavioral primacy; (2) specificity of attitudes; (3) reality orientation; and (4) class-linked behavior patterns.

BEHAVIOR *VS.* MORAL STANDARDS

One significant impression derived from some of the findings reviewed in this paper is the apparent primacy of *behavioral* over ideological differences. Adolescents (as well as adults) can reflect official ideology without exhibiting corresponding behavior and without necessarily rationalizing a conflict between the two.

The implications we can derive from this notion (well established in modern educational practice) include the suggestion that differences in citizenship behavior, reputation, and general social conduct need not correspond to similar differences in conscious judgment. Ideology and attitudes resist change; behavior is more adaptive. Behavior need not be rationalized at all—and it appears that in the teenage peer groups it rarely is. But when it is, the

rationale is specific. It might conflict with other unchanged parts of ideology. And it probably comes later.

Brodbeck[46] subjected a group of adolescents to a comic book whose theme was extreme and unpunished violence by a child toward parents who appeared to invite, if not deserve, such treatment—a subject calculated to have a maximum potential for arousing aggression. It did; but the marked behavioral changes were not matched by corresponding changes in conscious attitudes toward aggression. The same condemnation of severely aggressive acts remained.

Applying the insights of this study to the high school interviews, Brodbeck[47] suggested that adolescents may be influenced in that way toward social issues. They may still believe in "fair play," for example, but after concentrated and peer-group mediated exposure to media products in which violence is the rule, they may be more willing to "go along with a crowd." Once acted out, teenagers may tend to justify their roles and gradually build standards to accommodate them. Or they may not worry about changing "standards" at all.

SPECIFICITY OF ATTITUDE CHANGE

The next notion emerges from the above. It is this: (a) attitude change is a function of alterations in behavior; (b) its nature, extent, and duration are dependent on a supporting environment and culture; and (c) it is likely to be specific to the related behavior rather than generalized.

The principle of specificity of effect is well known to communication research.[48] I am suggesting an extension of that principle in the direction of behavior-oriented specificity.

Many experiments show significant changes in attitude following exposure to communication. But most of these were concerned with communication technique and strategy, or with measuring the impact of subject matter alone. None, so far as I know, investigated the hypothesis that the *relevance of content to actual behavior patterns* (whether consciously rationalized or not) is a more significant variable than either technique or content by itself.

Some notable examples of research on mass-communication influence in areas closely related to citizenship education suggest that: (a) attitude change occurs when relevant to behavior actually

practiced, even if not officially sanctioned; (b) attempts fail or backfire when not congruent with actual practice or when not directed to existing channels of action—even if officially sanctioned and overtly approved; (c) when attempts to change attitudes are irrelevant to either actual behavior, readily available channels for action, or strongly held norms, attitudes may shift in the direction of *any* authoritative and persuasive communication; and (d) training in "propaganda analysis" by itself either has no effect on susceptibility or increases resistance to all kinds of attempts and is therefore irrelevant to the direction of attitude change.[49]

To the extent that this line of reasoning is correct, it would underline the complexity and stress the necessity of research in a social setting where the communication and attitude variables can be found in meaningful relationship to actual uses and to specific conduct.

REALITY ORIENTATION

Another theoretical category of potential relevance to future research concerns the special relationship of mass-media exposure to the reality orientation of the adolescent. By reality orientation, I mean a person's conception of what the facts are and what the possibilities might be, aside from how he feels about these facts or possibilities.

Many aspects of life have little or no anchor in personal or group experience. This is especially true for young people who grow up and search for identity and role orientation in what has been described as in many ways a no man's land. Popular culture helps them define the reality of many aspects of life that are new, remote, neglected, or even tabooed by other cultural agencies of society, yet have a direct personal relevance to developmental and social tasks. Popular culture provides opportunities for experimentation in implicit approaches and points of view toward each of these aspects and problems of life. In popular culture, this is done as it can best (or alone) be done: through vivid, dramatic, and largely imaginary representations of human problems and of the human condition.

We have seen evidence in the Shuttleworth and May studies that judgments of what the facts or possibilities are ("what is likely to happen") may be more closely related to mass-media

exposure than is overt evaluation of these "facts." Similar clues can be derived from the research of others who searched for mass-media effects. Rosenthal,[50] for example, found that while radical motion-picture propaganda tended to make the specific social practices advocated by radicals more possible, and thus more acceptable, it also led to greater agreement with the statement that "radicals are enemies to security."

In a questionnaire study based on 478 grade-school children, Scott[51] found indications of reality orientation specifically related to popular TV western and mystery programs. Unfortunately, no control group was used (or available) to test the significance of these relationships. In a more carefully designed study, Siegel[52] set out specifically to test the hypothesis that children's reality expectations are influenced by dramatic presentations in the media. She exposed matched groups to versions of a radio drama identical in all respects except the ending. She found significant differences in children's expectations of the roles in real life that might be taken by the main character involved in the drama.

Studies in films by Albert,[53] and in comic books by Brodbeck,[54] yielded similar results. In these, the investigators also found a relationship between reality orientation and actual behavior. "The more reality reference the child gave the story," reported Brodbeck, "the more he tended to have his conduct affected by it." In this respect, dramatic communication might be analogous to the "reality testing" functions of socio-drama.

CLASS-RELATED CLUSTERS OF BEHAVIOR

We can classify many of the major relationships between different types of media activity and citizenship behaviors into the two polar clusters mentioned previously; *i.e.* the seeking-out pattern and the avoidance pattern.

A composite profile of each of these patterns, based on relationships found in a number of studies,[55] would show the following:

1. The seeking-out pattern of behavior appears to be positively associated with more diversified exposure to the media; more selective exposure, including a greater share of public-affairs materials; less dependence on any one source of media mate-

rials; opinion leadership coupled with greater reliance on interpersonal stimulation and influence; higher level of information; greater activity outside the peer-group sphere; higher reputation among teachers and classmates; higher grades in school; and lower popularity among school peers.

2. The avoidance pattern is found most closely associated with being a "fan" of any one medium, to the relative exclusion of others; with lower grades in school; anxiety elements in personality; lower reputation and conduct in the eyes of both teachers and classmates, but higher popularity among peers; relative social isolation from activity outside the peer-group sphere; lower levels of information and political interest or activity; and what appeared to investigators to be lack of cooperation, greater deceptiveness, less useful reality orientation toward common problem situations.

Since some of these relationships emerged from the Shuttleworth and May studies, which claim to have equated their groups on the basis of father's occupation (generally a fair index of social status), some explanation might seem appropriate. The most plausible one appears to be the suggestion, advanced by the investigators themselves, that perhaps "the equating process was not observed far enough." Be that as it may, in their evaluation of this study, Hoban and van Ormer were also "struck by the notion that this list of superior behavioral characteristics of the persistent movie-abstainer includes many items involved in social status."

The number of significant relationships that appear to hinge on social class and the general plausibility of these patterns indicate that social class might bear a particular relation to both citizenship and mass-media behavior. The extent, nature, and precise meaning of this association would seem to be a major task for future research to investigate.

Conclusion and Implications for Research and Action

The goals and skills of democratic citizenship are conspicuous by their absence from the world of the mass media. The functions

of a free press in a self-governing society have been overshadowed by the necessity of competing for attention in a market of consumer desires and gratifications. Adolescents form a sizable share of this market. In general, they conform to its pressures.

The over-all context of association between mass-media uses and citizenship behaviors is not conducive to the development of the "seeking-out pattern" in regard to interest in or concern with social problems. There are, however, great differences in patterns of community and social life. The effects of the media in this context tend to be conservative and reinforcing rather than to impel toward change. Mass-media influences might be observed most profitably in relation to actual conduct rather than to general attitudes, and in regard to judgments of the reality of certain aspects of life.

Too little is known about the citizenship and mass-media behavior that might be peculiar to an adolescent subculture; and the differential impact of mass-media materials upon youth of different social classes has not been investigated in sufficient depth.

SOME HYPOTHESES FOR RESEARCH

1. Both the high school and the mass media of communication represent "society" communicating to its youth. These two major secular agencies of adolescent socialization assume differentiated functions in the life of the student, but these functions are implicitly related in behavior.

   a. Differences in citizenship behavior in school and community are associated with different patterns of mass-media activity.
   b. Avoidance-type behavior is related to monopolization of attention by relatively few content types or media.
   c. A content analysis associated with the avoidance pattern will reveal representation of life more suggestive of general *conduct* associated with this pattern than will a content analysis associated with any other pattern of behavior.

2. In a high school relatively successful in providing meaningful channels of citizenship activity for students, mass-media patterns will assume a different role and complexion even when amount of "leisure time" is held constant.

3. The most important influence of mass-media content on the citizenship of adolescents is in structuring their orientation toward the realities of public life and toward actual community participation, rather than in directly affecting attitudes.

4. Social class is a significant factor related to both citizenship conduct and mass-media behavior.

a. The avoidance syndrome is a major obstacle to citizenship education. Mass-media patterns associated with this syndrome strongly support its other behavioral manifestations. Citizenship education *alone* will not change the class orientation of behavior, but will lead to unrationalized conflicts between conduct and ideology and to increased anxiety.
b. Opportunities for group self-direction and participation in citizenship activities, when accompanied by a change in mass-media consumption patterns, will lead to a greater alteration in the avoidance syndrome, regardless of class, than when not accompanied by a change in media patterns.

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR AN ACTION PROGRAM

1. Among the instructional objectives of the action program, attention should be given to the development of self-direction in the selection and use of mass-media products. The "cultural island" concept of citizenship education (if such is to guide the plan of action) should serve not so much the purposes of isolation as the purposes of comparison, contrast, and sharpened awareness of the everyday influences which pervade the life of the student. If this objective is to be achieved, it is necessary to formulate specific goals, methods, and desired outcomes in this area.

2. The experimental action program should be regarded as a social laboratory that transcends the walls of the school. A study of the community, homes, and families of participating students and an investigation of selected dimensions within the patterns of popular culture activity, even on a modest scale, will provide a meaningful backdrop against which to conduct and appraise the program. Such investigation is necessary also for the testing of the major hypotheses advanced in this chapter.

3. While the specifics of an action program or of related research are beyond the scope of this chapter, it might be suggested

here that the planning and testing of educational objectives and the design and execution of research, while not necessarily isolated from one another, should proceed independently to best preserve the integrity of both.

NOTES

1. William E. Porter, *Mass Communication and Education*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1958.
2. Joseph T. Klapper, "What We Know About the Effects of Mass Communication: The Brink of Hope." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 21: 453-74, Winter, 1957-58.
3. H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, *The American Teenager*, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1957.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957.
6. George Gerbner, "On Content Analysis and Critical Research in Mass Communication." *Audio-Visual Communication Review*, 6: 85-108, Spring, 1958.
7. Charles E. Swanson, "What They Read in 130 Daily Newspapers." *Journalism Quarterly*, 32: 411-21, Fall, 1955.
8. James M. Gillespie and Gordon W. Allport, *Youth's Outlook on the Future: A Cross-National Study*. (Doubleday Papers in Psychology) New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955.
9. W. J. Lohan, "Students Lack Political Knowledge." *National Municipal Review*, 45: 36-38, January, 1956; Arthur J. Brodbeck, "Education as Psychotherapy." *Confluence*, 6: 26-39, Spring, 1957; Jacob, *op. cit.*
10. B. R. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, and W. N. McPhee, *Voting*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954.
11. P. Fendrick, "Newspaper Reading Interests of High School and College Students." *Journal of Educational Research*, 34: 522-30, March, 1941; Frederick J. Meine, "Radio and the Press Among Young People." *Radio Research, 1941*, P. F. Lazarsfeld and F. N. Stanton, editors. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 1941; W. Schramm and D. M. White, "Age, Education, and Economic Status as Factors in Newspaper Reading: Conclusions," in *Mass Communications*, W. Schramm, editor. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949.
12. W. L. Gottenberg and R. L. Neal, "Radio at Home." *Phi Delta Kappan*, 22: 418-21, May, 1940.
13. G. Besco, "Television and Its Effects on Other Related Interests of High School Pupils." *English Journal*, 41: 151-52, March, 1952.
14. C. F. Cannell and J. C. MacDonald, "The Impact of Health News on Attitudes and Behavior." *Journalism Quarterly*, 33: 315-23, Summer, 1956.
15. Dean Baker and Charles Cannell, "Perception of Bias in the 1956

Election." Paper read at Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism, Boston, 1957.

16. D. G. Tarbert, "Television and Current Affairs." *The American Observer*, 22: 2-3, Winter, 1953.

17. Frank K. Shuttleworth and Mark May, *The Social Conduct and Attitudes of Movie Fans*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

18. Ben Gedelecia, "The Communicators: An All-Media Study." New York: Advertising Research Foundation Conference Report, 1957.

19. Herta Herzog, "What Do We Really Know About Daytime Serial Listeners?" in *Radio Research, 1942-1943*, P. F. Lazarsfeld and F. N. Stanton, editors. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 1944; Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955; George Gerbner, "The Social Role of the Confession Magazine." *Social Problems*, 6: 29-40, 1958.

20. Katz and Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*

21. Edward A. Ricciuti, "Children and Radio: A Study of Listeners and Non-Listeners to Various Types of Radio Programs in Terms of Selected Ability, Attitude, and Behavior Measures." *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 44: 69-143, 1951.

22. Herzog, *op. cit.*

23. Gerbner, *op. cit.*

24. *Cf.* e.g. Fendrick, *op. cit.*, Meine, *op. cit.*

25. Swanson, *op. cit.*

26. *Op. cit.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. G. H. Wiebe, "Merchandising Commodities and Citizenship on Television." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15: 679-91, Winter, 1951.

29. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949.

30. Arthur J. Brodbeck, *op. cit.*

31. Morris Rosenberg, "The Meaning of Politics in Mass Society." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15: 5-15, Spring, 1951.

32. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action," in *The Communication of Ideas*, Lyman Bryson, editor. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*

35. William Albig, "Two Decades of Opinion Study: 1936-1956." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 21: 14-22, 1957.

36. Eunice Cooper and Marie Jahoda, "The Evasion of Propaganda: How Prejudiced People Respond to Anti-Prejudice Propaganda." *The Journal of Psychology*, 23: 15-25, 1947.

37. Many other examples have been summarized by Fearing, in *Mass Media and Education*, Nelson B. Henry, editor, Fifty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954; and Charles F. Hoban, Jr., and Edward B. van Ormer, *Instructional Film Research, 1918-1950*, Technical Report No. SDC 269-7-19. Instructional Film Research Program, Pennsyl-

vania State College. Port Washington, L. I., New York: Special Devices Center, December, 1950.

38. Cannell and MacDonald, *op. cit.*

39. Arthur J. Brodbeck, "Learning the Social Sciences from the Lively Arts," unpublished research report, 1957.

40. W. W. Charters, *Motion Pictures and Youth*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

41. Shuttleworth and May, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

42. Chapter II presented the findings of the Character Education Inquiry data.

43. Shuttleworth and May, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

44. The Payne Fund studies, on the whole, have been submitted to vigorous criticism by Adler and Moley (Mortimer J. Adler, *Art and Prudence*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1937. Raymond Moley, *Are We Movie Mad?* New York: Macy-Masius, 1938). They were defended by Cressey (Paul G. Cressey, "A Study in Practical Philosophy." *Journal of Higher Education*, 9: 319-28, 1938) and further reviewed by Dale, Finn, and Hoban (Edgar Dale, James D. Finn, and Charles F. Hoban, Jr., "Research on Audio-Visual Materials," Chapter 12 of *Audio-visual Materials of Instruction*, the Forty-Eighth Yearbook, Part I, of the National Society for the Study of Education, Nelson B. Henry, editor. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949), who concluded, with Cressey, that "five of the Payne Fund Studies were never challenged and . . . the other five were criticized on . . . questionable grounds. . . ." Anyone interested in reviewing this old, but timeless, controversy should also see Horkheimer's essay (M. Horkheimer. "Art and Mass Culture." *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, 9: 290-365, 1941) challenging the philosophical assumptions behind Adler's criticism.

45. *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

46. Arthur J. Brodbeck, "What Makes Viewers Tick?" *Vision*, October, 1955.

47. Arthur J. Brodbeck, Unpublished research report, *op. cit.*

48. *Cf.*, e g., Hoban and van Ormer, *op. cit.*

49. *C.f.*, e.g., Ruth C. Peterson and Louis L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933; Vernon A. Jones, *Character and Citizenship Training in the Public School*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936; L. L. Ramseyer, "A Study of the Influence of Documentary Films on Social Attitudes," unpublished doctoral dissertation. Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1938; Mildred J. Wiese and Stewart G. Cole, "A Study of Children's Attitudes and the Influence of a Commercial Picture." *Journal of Psychology*, 21: 151-71, 1946; L. C. Larson, "The Relation of Cognitive and Affective Factors to Suspend Judgment," unpublished manuscript. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Committee on Educational Research, 1940; R. M. Bateman and H. H. Remmers, "A Study of the Shifting Attitude of High School Students When Subjected to Favorable and Unfavorable Propaganda." *Journal of Social Psychology*, 13: 395-406, 1941.

50 S. P. Rosenthal, "Change of Socio-Economic Attitudes under Radical Motion Picture Propaganda." *Archives of Psychology*, 25, No. 166, 1934.

51. L. Scott, "Social Attitudes of Children Revealed by Responses to

Television Programs." *California Journal of Elementary Education*, 22: 176-79, February, 1954.

52. Alberta E. Siegel, "The Influence of Violence in the Mass Media Upon Children's Role Expectations." *Child Development*, 29:35-56, March, 1958.

53. Robert S. Albert, "The Role of Mass Media and the Effect of Aggressive Film Content upon Children's Aggressive Responses and Identification Choices." *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 55: 221-85, 1957.

54. Arthur J. Brodbeck, "What Makes Viewers Tick?" *op. cit.*

55. *Cf.*, especially Katz and Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.;* Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, *op. cit.;* R. O. Nafziger, Malcolm MacLean, Jr., and W. Engstrom, "Who Reads What in Newspapers?" *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, 5: 519-40, Winter, 1951; Schramm and White, *op. cit.;* Jacob, *op. cit.;* Robert M. Sekarak, "Mass Communication Media, Reading Comprehension and Intelligence." *Audio-Visual Communication Review*, 5: 468-75, Spring, 1957.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Sociology and Character Education

ALBERT D. ULLMAN

ACADEMICIANS HAVE A PROPENSITY FOR INTERFERING with the normal course of controversy by insisting that terms and concepts involved be defined. Sometimes they find that the referent is known to all the participants, but there is difficulty in putting it into words. At least, this is true of those who share the same cultural background—who are members of the same society.

But for some academicians, among them sociologists, the most mortal of sins is that of ethnocentrism. Thus, a sociologist is likely to be more difficult to satisfy in defining "character" and "citizenship" than many others. His definitions must, if he is to be happy with them, have universal application or contain within themselves a description of the limits of the applicability. He assumes, then, the cultural relativity of the concepts. Most discussion in the educational literature does not meet these criteria, because the discussions are descriptions of educational objectives and, therefore, have relevance for only one society.

Naturally, the place to start, even for a sociologist, is with the dictionary. Webster gives us a fine menu of definitions from which to choose. Definitions fall into two groups: one dealing with personality, and the other with moral reputation. In these definitions, as, indeed, in most, there is an inherent use of a trait approach. So, Roback applies "character" to "groups of traits that have social significance and moral quality."[1] In Roback's article we see a notion of self- or impulse-control that apparently has had a good deal of influence on those who have written since on the subject of character education.

The next place the sociologist is likely to look, and with greater confidence of finding a product which satisfies him, is in the works of those of his colleagues who have devoted themselves to such matters. A perusal of textbooks on educational sociology, including most of those in widespread current use, reveals that the words "character" and "citizenship" rarely appear in the indexes and, when they do, the words are not defined in the text. An exception is the statement found in the textbook by Rodehaver, Axtell, and Gross. They define character as follows: "Character sums up the socially approved traits that an individual has acquired through self discipline."[2] The parenthood of this definition, whether legitimate or not, appears to be Roback's article in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. A very recent publication prepared under the sponsorship of the American Sociological Society is *Sociology in the Field of Education* by Orville G. Brim, Jr.[3] There is *no* reference to problems of character or citizenship education in this work, one which purports to survey the current state of sociological research in education.

I suspect that one reason why these words do not appear in very much of the sociological literature in the same context in which they are used by educators is that they have other meanings, particularly the word "character." Although the educator tends to refer to specific personality traits or behaviors when he discusses character, most sociologists are likely to think of character as the equivalent of personality; that is, an organization of all of the behavioral traits of an individual. They are likely to link it with the word "national," as in "national character." Inkeles and Levinson make it clear that what they mean by national character

is "modal personality patterns in the populations of particular societies."[4]

In our present effort, we are faced with the choice of using the word "character" in its general or in its restricted sense. There is precedent, particularly among educators, for the latter usage, and I shall conform to it.

I feel that the word "citizenship" offers less of a problem. Its use in the relevant literature indicates that it is always coupled with some notion of participation or nonparticipation in civic affairs. Frequently, the matter is simplified to the point where participation is equated with good citizenship and nonparticipation with bad. One might presume that a person of good character would have to be a good citizen. However, the relation between these concepts is not at all clear to me, except that I feel that "character" is a more inclusive term. Therefore, I will devote most of the present discussion to character.

Sociologists have not created any specific techniques for the study of character as such. They have not been particularly interested in the field except as it is included in work on socialization and social control. However, there are techniques which are shared by sociologists and other social and behavioral scientists which have often been overlooked by educators doing research and undertaking action in character education. An example of a sophisticated approach to action and evaluation in character education is presented in the report by Hyman and Wright of Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research.[5]

This effort may almost serve as a model, at least in this stage of development of the art, for research on the effects of a given course of action. Its importance lies not only in the techniques used but in the design of the work. This contains one most important element: the evaluation of the action performed is made by an independent evaluation group. Although they had the blessings of the action group and their utmost cooperation, the evaluators operated totally apart from the action effort. In this respect, the study is almost unique.

Typically, those who take the action do the evaluating. Also typically, their hearts and heads are in the action aspects of the program; evaluation suffers from inadequacy of observation, from

selective perception, and from ignorance of the tools available for such purposes. One can contrast the rich findings of the Hyman and Wright study with the interesting, humane, impressionistic, and unreliable reports of other action programs that did not have built-in, independent evaluation programs. There are a number of examples of these described in the AASA yearbook of 1954.[6]

Nothing I have said above should be interpreted as an expression of feeling that relatively unstructured studies have not served a useful purpose. On the contrary, they have provided us with the necessary insights for the isolation of variables, the construction of hypotheses, and the training of personnel who are sophisticated in this work. It is probably true that at this point we have enough such examples of insight-provocation so that we can go ahead with confidence to somewhat more objective programs of hypothesis testing.

In one respect, a high level of sophistication has been achieved in earlier studies. It is found in the clear espousal of the notion that character and citizenship can be observed only through their behavioral correlates. That is, one no longer finds statements of objectives or of outcomes of programs in terms of "he is," but in terms of "he does."

The so-called trait approach has not been successful in studies of leadership, character, or any kind of behavior that has role components. What is available for observation is overt behavior. The road from such behavior to the trait is not accessible. All one can do is to describe the degree of specificity or generality of a given class of behaviors in a given class of situations. Even here, the problems of identifying the boundaries of the classes is a serious issue.

At this point I should like to attempt to locate the general area of sociology or the behavioral sciences in which character education properly belongs. I believe it to be in what is commonly called the "culture and personality" field. Describing the area with one word from anthropology and another from psychology may seem to be a step toward technological unemployment for the sociologist, but there is really no danger. Both concepts are so much a part of current sociology that to attempt to isolate them and drop them from the discipline would be impossible as well as undesirable.

What we deal with when we discuss culture and personality are two things: first, the *variability* of cultural patterns together with variability in personality, and, second, the *processes* whereby persons who are members of the same society become like one another as they internalize the common culture enacted by that society. Although almost all sociology deals, in one way or another, with normative behavior, the culture and personality field is especially committed here.

We can see from this that the student of culture and personality is forced to consider the socialization process central to his interests. Furthermore, he emphasizes *likenesses* among members of the same society who are products of this particular socialization pattern. Even when he spends a good deal of his time, as anthropologists do, demonstrating cultural and correlated personality differences, he is talking about the modal personality within a society or subsociety.

Obviously the character educator deals with much of the same material. However, he does not take as his responsibility the entire process of socialization. The character educator starts with an already "housebroken" child and attempts to work toward cultural conformity in specific areas—those where the job of achieving conformity has not been successfully accomplished. Generally, these areas are at the level of interpersonal relations, which are a step removed from intimate, primary group-interaction patterns. The ordinary agencies of socialization presumably are in family life, in the the activities of a peer group, and so on. It is at the level of interaction at the secondary level, or in group-to-group relations, and in situations involving conflicting group values that the character educator's task lies. The kinds of behavior he deals with occur in relationships involving choice and a conflict of impulses or needs.

When a person resists tendencies or impulses to *deviate* from custom in a direction which is deleterious to the majority, he is acting as one with good character or as a good citizen. When he resists tendencies or impulses to *conform* to custom and behaves as an innovator or protester, he also may be acting as a good citizen with a good character. Thus, character problems and character education deal with conformity and deviation from custom under

the following conditions: (1) where choice is involved, with conflicting impulses; and (2) where the chosen behavior results in, or is intended to result in, benefit or harm to the society.

One might describe the behavior of the "ideal citizen" as creative conformity. In many respects the ideal resembles Maslow's "self-actualizing personality."[7]

Probably there would be no questions regarding purposes and outcomes of character education if it were not for the need to keep channels for social change open. With respect to this function, the character educator shares the general confusion regarding the task of formal agencies of education. The sociologist regards the basic mission of the educational agency as twofold: conservation of the existing culture, including as part of the culture provision for change such as that produced by scientific investigation, and a "weeding-out" process wherein certain items of culture are rejected. Thus, when one builds a curriculum, he decides what areas of the culture are important enough to be ensured of transmission. In preparing the specific unit or course, the teacher further screens the available material to present a somewhat different body of information, attitudes, and skills than he received. We may question the basic premises of such selection procedures and receive the answer that the teacher does this as a product of his society, just like anyone else. He reflects the drift of culture. Events which impinge on his society and on the specific groups of which he is a member pass through the unique filter of aspects of his own personality and experiences. The filtrate is, in part, what and how he teaches.

But cultural change takes place with reference to the value systems of persons and peoples. Notions of right and wrong, of propriety and impropriety, notions which are at the heart of the character educator's work, are constantly changing. One need only look at the dating behavior of successive generations of Americans of similar social class to recognize this. Therefore, one must suggest that sociology, a discipline which has interested itself in social and cultural change, has much to offer the character educator in sensitizing him to the facts of change and the methods whereby it is accomplished.

The specific nature of the contribution may be a matter of

with particular reference to development of the self.[26] It appears clear that in the process of interaction, one constantly tests his self-concept against the concept of himself revealed by others. In a footnote to the Children's Bureau publication noted above, Erikson presents this provocative statement which emphasizes the effects upon self of others' attitudes.

> In an unpublished paper, the sociologist Kai T. Erikson discusses three developmental stages in the professionalization of a criminal career. The stage of *introduction* occurs when the individual first becomes acquainted with delinquent or criminal roles and learns to experiment with their portrayal in childhood games. *Attribution* is the later stage in which the community accepts these experimental portrayals as the roles most characteristic of the individual, the roles in which his attributes are most recognizably represented. This would seem to occur sometime in middle or late adolescence, an age in which society searches for tags by which to identify and place its maturing members. The final stage, *commitment*, takes place when the individual organizes his conception of himself around that central theme and turns to crime as an occupational career.[27]

It should hardly be necessary to add that the same sequence can apply to any self-concept, whether it be that of delinquent, handsome man, popular member, or "good guy." It is a product of interaction. Grambs has made the same point in her study of a self-governing adolescent group: "Many adolescents perceive adolescents as persons judged by the community as being bad unless and until proven good."[28] She goes on to point out the need for help from adults in defining the self-concept among adolescents.

It should be increasingly clear that the nature of the self, a product of interaction, is affected by the range of persons with whom one interacts. The function of social organization, particularly of the existence of social-class differences, is to limit the range of interactions.

Havighurst and Taba comment on this as follows:

> There are three deviant groups of adolescents in Prairie City who are learning values and standards which deviate from the

> middle-class forms. The Lutherans are learning a more rigorous, puritanical morality. Most of the out-of-school group are learning a morality which is generally stigmatized as "lower class," and some of the lower-class boys and girls who are in high school but not well adjusted to its social life are becoming discontented and hostile toward middle-class values.[29]

The study by Havighurst and Taba is useful not only in its own right, but because it was part of the same effort that produced *Elmtown's Youth*. In these works, we have a better picture of the life of the adolescent and his place in the community than is available in any other place with which the writer is familiar.

There is some indication in the findings of Havighurst and Taba that there is a way out of the stereotyping associated with social-class membership. They say:

> An alternative hypothesis which seemed substantiated by the findings is that the character reputation of subjects is determined primarily by the degree to which their actual behavior conforms to the middle-class standards of the school. If the individual fits into the life of the school, if he strives for the goals set up explicitly or implicitly by the school, his reputation for character will be high. If he does not conform to school standards or subscribe to school ideologies his reputation for character will be low.[30]

In other words, if the lower-class adolescent rejects his class, including his family, and accepts the value system of the middle class, he will be acceptable to the middle class. In fact, this rarely happens, as we can see in *Elmtown's Youth*. Hollingshead's explanation of this is as follows:

> The class V adolescent's family background and prestige position are such that he is made to feel unwanted in the classroom, on the playground, or in the clubs and extracurricular activities that are an integral part of the school situation. This same isolating process operates in the churches and youth groups. Within the confines of the adolescent world, intangible barriers are erected against the class V boy or girl by boys and girls who belong to the acceptable segments of the social structure which channelize the social relations of the class V youngster to his class equals.[31]

The realities of contact with adolescents include recognition of the effects of social-class membership in isolating groups of adolescents *from one another*. A number of investigators stress the isolation of adolescents in general from adults in general. Although we have already mentioned a study by Elkin and Westley that states that the isolation occurs only in lower-class adolescents, the weight of opinion is probably on the other side. Thus, Hollingshead speaks of the "conspiracy of silence" that enables the adolescent to violate adult taboos with impunity.[32] Furthermore, there is scattered evidence to indicate that the person who is less able than many others to build a bridge to the adolescent is the teacher. Collier and Lawrence report that when adolescents were asked what changed their feeling of isolation, the *least* significant factor was "Talking with teachers or advisors."[33] Havighurst and Taba report that in answer to the statement, "I am really a great deal like this person," no teachers were mentioned.[34]

It is probably not strange that this is so. If, as appears to be the case, the adolescents in a school participate in a social system that is different from the official school social system, the sanctions that are important to the adolescent are controlled by his peers, not by teachers.[35] It is likely that those adults who are significant to this system are those who control some assignment of role which is important *within the adolescent social system*. Thus, a teacher of driving is important to the teenager because he controls a permission which, when granted, places the adolescent in a favorable position. In a recent conference on alcohol education, when discussion over its place in the curriculum came up, it was suggested that the person who runs the driver-education program would be best fitted to handle it.

In this judgment we have an effective admission of the fact that when it comes to transmitting values, the typical classroom teacher is in a weak position. The driver-education director, the football coach, and a few others have something adolescents want; they have the power to make assignments which effectively confer prestige upon the adolescent within his peer group. Havighurst and Taba have recognized this point. In attempting to discover who the adults were who were considered in a favorable light, they found:

> The members of the school staff who received the most mentions are those who have administrative responsibility and whose contacts with students tend to be on a personal rather than on a classroom basis. Classroom teachers who received the most mentions are those who are responsible for extracurricular activities which increase their personal contacts wtih students.[36]

As one deals more with the literature on adolescence and with adolescents themselves, he feels more strongly that the isolation of adolescent from adult social systems is almost necessary for the young person. The new demands being placed upon him and the nearness of his entry into the complex adult society weigh upon him. The simple, relatively uncontradicted morality which has served him through his childhood no longer suffices. His response is to become idealistic and cynical at the same time. Havighurst and Taba show that there is differential response to various moral qualities. Thus, they say, "Of the five traits, standards of honesty are the most widely and unquestioningly accepted."[37] But when the area of "loyalty" is examined, beliefs "seem to be confused and uncertain."[38]

In this, I believe we have a kind of scale of uncertainty in moral beliefs that is associated with the specificity of experience with each trait. Thus, the child has been punished for dishonesty and praised for honesty. This is a class of problems he has been faced with for some time. As for "loyalty," it is something new. Not until late childhood and adolescence is he asked to be loyal to anything. The nature of the act of being loyal is not clear. The fact that it involves group-to-group relations, or that it involves a conflict resulting from multiple-group membership, makes it a more complicated matter. The adolescent seeks to reduce the complexity of moral problems by reducing them to stereotypes. These occur when there is little information on a subject, never when there is a good deal. Indeed, one aspect of the nature of the authoritarian personality may be its need to be right in order to avoid the displeasure of the parent, and one way to be right is to repress the possibility of alternatives.[39] So fiercely does the adolescent protect his stereotypes that one may suspect the presence of some such mechanism.

Perhaps the way to break into these stereotypes is to isolate and attack them with information. Remmers and Radler have collected large numbers of responses to varying attitude polls which help us in identifying the stereotypes.[40] One would at least like to see the nature of the resistances adolescents put up in order to protect their stereotypes. It may even be that the isolation from adults is an expression of such resistance.

Moreover, the question of the source of stereotypes leads us once again to problems of social organization. Are stereotypes like attitudes, in that certain groups are more important to the individual than others as sources? In other words, does the important body of material on reference groups, new as it is, have relevance here?

Reference-group theory simply recognizes that multiple-group membership involves differential influence. Certain groups hold polar positions, positive or negative, with regard to values. They are the major sources of values. As such they are of particular significance to the individual. One may well assume that, for any program of education to effect change in a person, the fact of the existence of reference groups must be taken into consideration. In so doing, the educator will be forced to take into consideration many of the variables we have already considered; for example, social class, sex, age, and so on. But the sociologist in telling the educator what he must do also is forced to meet a reality: the limits of his knowledge. In attempting to be of help to the character educator, the sociologist clarifies for himself some fundamental questions that need answering. In the section to follow, several quick questions are posed.

Recommendations for Research

1. Perhaps the most obvious and important question to be raised is this: What are the groups, membership and nonmembership, with which various adolescents come into contact; what are their relative influences; and how are the various influences integrated?

One assumes that an investigation attempting to answer this

question would find answers specific to certain groups of adolescents: those of certain age, sex, residence, social class, religion.

2. Certain adults in our society find themselves in positions of planning for youth groups. What are their social-class origins and how does this influence their points of view? Are other sociological variables significant here?

3. We have discussed the problems of transmitting middle-class values to lower-class adolescents. We need to know more about (a) whether it is possible, (b) whether doing it has latent effects at present not foreseen.

4. We also have referred to the impact on one's self-concept of the attitudes of others toward one. Is it not likely that operating upon the attitudes of significant persons in the adolescent's life may alter the self-concept? In order to do this, we have to know more about how certain persons become significant.

5. We have noted that teachers are, apparently, poor transmitters of significant values. Why this is so is not at all clear. The fact needs examination to uncover leads. Characteristics of teachers as individuals and of the nature of the teacher-student interactive process require further investigation. One lead, obviously, is the finding that some individuals in the school system *are* relatively important as transmitters of values. Given a difference in this respect among teachers and others, an exploration of the differences becomes feasible.

6. We have also noted that adolescents tend to isolate themselves from the adult world. The characteristics of this isolation, its extent, and its utility for the adolescent are subjects for investigation.

NOTES

1. A. A. Roback, "Character," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1936, vol. 3, p. 335.

2. *M. W. Rodehaver, W. B. Axtell, and R. E. Gross, Sociology of the School*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1957, p. 216.

3. O. G. Brim, Jr., *Sociology and the Field of Education*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958.

4. A. Inkeles and D. J. Levinson, "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems," Chapter 26 in *Handbook of*

Perhaps the way to break into these stereotypes is to isolate and attack them with information. Remmers and Radler have collected large numbers of responses to varying attitude polls which help us in identifying the stereotypes.[40] One would at least like to see the nature of the resistances adolescents put up in order to protect their stereotypes. It may even be that the isolation from adults is an expression of such resistance.

Moreover, the question of the source of stereotypes leads us once again to problems of social organization. Are stereotypes like attitudes, in that certain groups are more important to the individual than others as sources? In other words, does the important body of material on reference groups, new as it is, have relevance here?

Reference-group theory simply recognizes that multiple-group membership involves differential influence. Certain groups hold polar positions, positive or negative, with regard to values. They are the major sources of values. As such they are of particular significance to the individual. One may well assume that, for any program of education to effect change in a person, the fact of the existence of reference groups must be taken into consideration. In so doing, the educator will be forced to take into consideration many of the variables we have already considered; for example, social class, sex, age, and so on. But the sociologist in telling the educator what he must do also is forced to meet a reality: the limits of his knowledge. In attempting to be of help to the character educator, the sociologist clarifies for himself some fundamental questions that need answering. In the section to follow, several quick questions are posed.

Recommendations for Research

1. Perhaps the most obvious and important question to be raised is this: What are the groups, membership and nonmembership, with which various adolescents come into contact; what are their relative influences; and how are the various influences integrated?

One assumes that an investigation attempting to answer this

question would find answers specific to certain groups of adolescents: those of certain age, sex, residence, social class, religion.

2. Certain adults in our society find themselves in positions of planning for youth groups. What are their social-class origins and how does this influence their points of view? Are other sociological variables significant here?

3. We have discussed the problems of transmitting middle-class values to lower-class adolescents. We need to know more about (a) whether it is possible, (b) whether doing it has latent effects at present not foreseen.

4. We also have referred to the impact on one's self-concept of the attitudes of others toward one. Is it not likely that operating upon the attitudes of significant persons in the adolescent's life may alter the self-concept? In order to do this, we have to know more about how certain persons become significant.

5. We have noted that teachers are, apparently, poor transmitters of significant values. Why this is so is not at all clear. The fact needs examination to uncover leads. Characteristics of teachers as individuals and of the nature of the teacher-student interactive process require further investigation. One lead, obviously, is the finding that some individuals in the school system *are* relatively important as transmitters of values. Given a difference in this respect among teachers and others, an exploration of the differences becomes feasible.

6. We have also noted that adolescents tend to isolate themselves from the adult world. The characteristics of this isolation, its extent, and its utility for the adolescent are subjects for investigation.

NOTES

1. A. A. Roback, "Character," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.* London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1936, vol. 3, p. 335.

2. *M. W. Rodehaver, W. B. Axtell, and R. E. Gross, Sociology of the School.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1957, p. 216.

3. O. G. Brim, Jr., *Sociology and the Field of Education.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958.

4. A. Inkeles and D. J. Levinson, "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems," Chapter 26 in *Handbook of*

Social Psychology, G. Lindzey, editor. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1954, p. 977.

5. H. H. Hyman and C. R. Wright, *Youth in Transition: An Evaluation of the Contribution of the Encampment for Citizenship to the Education of Youth*. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1956. (Mimeographed)

6. Thirty-second Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, *Educating for American Citizenship*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1954.

7. A. Maslow, "Self-actualizing People: A Study of Psychological Health." *Personality*, 1950, Symposium No. 1, pp. 11-34.

8. R. Linton, *The Study of Man*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936.

9. M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by T. Parsons. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930.

10. A. L. Kroeber and T. Parsons, "The Concepts of Culture and of Social System." *American Sociological Review*, 23:582-83, 1958.

11. T. Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States." *American Sociological Review*, 7:604-16, 1942.

12. S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956, p. 54.

13. C. M. Tryon, "The Adolescent Peer Culture," Chapter 12 in The Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, *Part I, Adolescence*, Nelson B. Henry, editor. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1944.

14. K. Davis, "Adolescence and the Social Structure." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 236:8-16, November 1944.

15. A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949.

16. F. Elkin and W. A. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture." *American Sociological Review*, 20:680-84, 1955.

17. Hollingshead, *op. cit.*

18. A. Huxley, *Brave New World*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932.

19. Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

20. A. K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955, p. 153.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 176 *f.*

22. W. C. Reckless, S. Dinitz, and E. Murray, "Self-Concept as an Insulator Against Delinquency." *American Sociological Review*, 21:744-46, 1956.

23. See, for example: C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902; E. H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1950; William James, *Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1890; G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934.

24. H. Witmer and R. Kotinsky, editors, *New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency*. Washington: Children's Bureau, Publication No. 356, 1956.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

26. A. D. Ullman, "Identification: An Interactionist Interpretation." Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Urbana, Illinois, 1954.
27. E. H. Erikson in Witmer and Kotinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 69 n.
28. J. D. Grambs, "The Community and the Self-Governing Adolescent Group." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 30:94-105, 1956.
29. R. J. Havighurst and H. Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, p. 46.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
31. Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
33. R. M. Collier and H. P. Lawrence, "The Adolescent Feeling of Psychological Isolation." *Educational Theory*, 1:110, 1951.
34. Havighurst and Taba, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
35. C. W. Gordon, *The Social System of the High School*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957.
36. Havighurst and Taba, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
39. T. W. Adorno and others, *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.
40. H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, *The American Teenager*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1957.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Relevance of Selected Psychological Data for Citizenship Education

EZRA V. SAUL

ANY EFFORT WHICH ASPIRES TO THE TITLE OF THE present chapter will of necessity have serious limitations. The present effort is no exception. In order to make these limitations explicit, a word concerning the orientation, organization, and content of this chapter is in order.

I make no attempt to conceal my naïveté regarding the history and content of citizenship education. Furthermore, I am very much aware that the notions of character, personality, and citizenship are extremely abstract and subsume a considerable variety of dynamic processes, mechanisms, and so forth, of which present-day social science is at best only dimly aware. Such reasons have led me to take the position that certain psychological concepts such as those of attitudes, communication, perception, and learning

are useful in the generation of specific research findings and that such concepts have pertinence to problems of adolescent character, personality, and citizenship behavior.

In the material which follows I have tried to do two things. The first is to draw attention to the number and variety of current publications in psychology which have pertinence to problems of adolescent character and citizenship education. Secondly, I have tried to comment, as a psychologist, on selected aspects of citizenship behavior and some of the uses educators have made of psychological concepts and data in the development and establishment of citizenship training programs.

The Current Literature

Regarding the literature searched, the present effort has been primarily restricted to a limited examination of selected items reported in the *Psychological Abstracts* for the years 1955, 1956, 1957, and the initial issues of 1958. More specifically, some 200 titles appearing in the categories of developmental psychology, social psychology, and educational psychology have been reviewed. The choice of this literature was motivated by the desire to assess the quantity and variety of recently published research pertinent to adolescent personality, character, and citizenship behavior. The material selected, though extremely heterogeneous in content, can be grouped into several categories.

DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENT OF INTERESTS AND ATTITUDES

Perhaps one of the most intensively researched areas in psychology having pertinence to the present topic is that of interest and attitude structure and measurement. The current review of the literature uncovered an extensive number of relevant investigations. Perhaps the most inclusive study is the publication by Remmers and Radler[1] on the American teenager, which summarizes a number of individual researches pertinent to the plans, problems, fears, prejudices, and beliefs expressed by teenagers. Similar

studies are those by Remmers, Horton, and Seibert,[2] Heath, Maier, and Remmers,[3] and Pierro.[4] Illustrations of the findings and conclusions of such studies are the following excerpts from Remmers and Radler:

> . . . we may surmise that our teenagers seemed to be poorly informed about differences between economic and political systems. They seem to dodge their own responsibilities where corruption is known to exist. They tend to hold little belief for the efficacy of writing to one's congressman to help influence national policy, and they reject the pressure group as a proper democratic institution.
>
> . . . we find that American teenagers have well-crystallized democratic attitudes with respect to religious freedom, the right to trial by jury and equality of opportunity. But the typical teenager shows an alarming disposition to reject some democratic beliefs, to throw away some of the basic freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, and to accept many authoritarian and totalitarian beliefs and values in their place . . .[5]

Studies such as these contained other detailed findings and conclusions too numerous to be stated, although they are of importance in discussing specific programs of citizenship education.

Attitude studies of the teenager and young adult cover a wide range of particular factors. Illustrative of such is the study by Ruth[6] on the attitude of university students toward politico-economic issues. This study essentially indicates that the attitudes held by university students are not a function of the economic and social status of their parents. Another interesting study is that by Chapman[7] on the attitudes of juveniles toward legal authorities, in which, generally speaking, no significant difference was found between the attitudes of delinquent as against nondelinquent children. Also of interest is a study by Crane[8] concerning the stereotypes of the adult held by early adolescents, where results suggest that such stereotypes are not likely to change after age thirteen, and show significant sex differences in connection with social skills.

An extremely intensive area of research would appear to be that of ascertaining correlates of various measured attitudes, such as

those of authoritarianism and ethnocentrism. In this connection, several studies were uncovered during the present search of the literature. The work of Souerwine,[9] Bornstein and Coleman,[10] Rosen,[11] Campbell,[12] Warnath,[13] and Landis[14] are instances in point. The data from these studies are in keeping with the generalizations made by Christie and Cook:

> . . . it was estimated that the correlation between the F-Scale and either intelligence test scores or years of education would fall between –.50 and –.60 in a representative cross-sectional sample...
>
> . . . data indicated clearly the lack of relationship between authoritarianism and (American political) party preference . . .
>
> . . . F scores were positively related to non-voting in cross-sectional samples . . .
>
> . . . high scorers on F chose more authoritarian presidential aspirants (Taft and MacArthur) than did low F scorers . . .
>
> . . . the authoritarian syndrome reflects adherence to values *which run counter to those accepted by liberal and literate citizens* of the United States . . .[15]

Three studies by Siegel, Coon, Pepinsky, and Rubin,[16] Moss,[17] and Freehill[18] pertain to the expressed standards of conduct which adolescents feel should or should not apply to themselves, to teachers, and to parents. In the Siegel *et al.* and the Moss studies, it is interesting to note that students, teachers, and parents manifested close agreement as to what student standards of behavior should be. The Freehill study provides evidence that students selected as being democratic by test scores are also independently judged as being democratic by a faculty committee. This latter study is suggestive of the validity of existing scales of democratic character. An interesting study by Holman[19] casts light on the kinds of individuals adolescents will seek out in soliciting help on personal problems.

Although the foregoing studies are helpful in providing descriptive information concerning the attitudinal systems of adolescents and of the many psychosocial correlates of these attitudes, the essential utility of studies to citizenship behavior pivots on the validity of the notion that interests and attitudes are determinants of social behavior. Although there is little reason to question the

validity of such a general relationship, there is serious question as to whether the specific interest-attitudinal correlates of positive democratic behaviors are known.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE FORMATION AND MODIFICATION OF ATTITUDES

Second only to research on descriptive attributes of attitudes is the volume of research directed toward the study of the formation and modifiability of attitudes. The present review of the literature revealed a number of studies in this particular category pertinent to citizenship. The work of Thistlethwaite, de Haan, and Kamenetzky,[20] Thistlethwaite and Kamenetzky,[21] Cromwell,[22] Sawyer,[23] Tannenbaum,[24] Kelley and Woodruff,[25] and Cooper[26] is illustrative. These studies are concerned with the effects of various communication variables in changing measured attitudes. Their conclusions are, in general, compatible with the findings and conclusions reported in such summary works as those of Hovland *et al.*, and Schramm *et al.*[27] Illustrative of such findings and conclusions are the following excerpts from Hovland:

> . . . High credibility sources had a substantially greater immediate effect on the audience's *opinions* than low credibility sources.
>
> . . . In communications which deal with complicated issues, it is generally more effective to state the conclusion explicitly than to rely upon the audience to draw its own conclusions.
>
> . . . once a belief is modified by an effective communication there will be a tendency for the newly acquired opinions to interfere with the subsequent acquisition of any incompatible opinions.
>
> . . . persons who are most strongly motivated to retain their membership in a group will be most resistant to communications contrary to the standards of the group.
>
> . . . spoken agreement induced by role playing tends to increase the effectiveness of persuasive communication.[28]

The essential implication of research in this area is that sufficient knowledge is available to set down rules and prescriptions for the design of certain materials and procedures having maximal

effects in inducing attitude changes pertinent to citizenship behavior. To the knowledge of the writer, no such effort has been undertaken with the explicit purpose of formulating rules for the induction of positive democratic attitudes and values.

The work of French and Ernest,[29] Katz, Sarnoff, and McClintock,[30] Holder,[31] and Wagman[32] produced essentially descriptive studies relating certain characteristics of the individual to modifiability of attitudes. Wagman, for instance, as well as French and Ernest, relates the effects of attitude change to authoritarian personality, whereas Katz and Holder undertake studies relating ego defense to attitude change, and relationships of conformity and consistency of value attitudes to personal and social adjustment.

The work of Cook and Selltiz[33] and Gundlach[34] relates to the effects of particular kinds of personal experiences on attitude changes. Again the studies in general urge the caution that contact per se between majority and minority group members is not a sufficient condition for the induction of positive intergroup or interracial attitudes.

One of the most provocative studies uncovered is that of Pearl,[35] who attempted to assess the effects of psychotherapeutic experience upon ethnocentric and prejudicial attitudes as measured by the California E scale. Pearl concludes that such treatment would result in the reduction of negative attitudes and that group psychotherapy would be more effective than individual psychotherapy. The implications of this study are severalfold. One primary value of the study is to provide some validating information for the notion that individuals who are "mentally healthy" are more likely to have and develop positive democratic attitudes than individuals who are "mentally unhealthy." The study also suggests a specific method for the modification of negative attitudes as they might be encountered in particular school settings.

Although the reviewed studies on the formation and modifiability of attitudes are only representative of those which are available, there is considerable support for the generalization that important social attitudes and knowledges are susceptible to change as a function of emotional predispositions, personal experiences, communications, and psychotherapeutic procedures.

validity of such a general relationship, there is serious question as to whether the specific interest-attitudinal correlates of positive democratic behaviors are known.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE FORMATION AND MODIFICATION OF ATTITUDES

Second only to research on descriptive attributes of attitudes is the volume of research directed toward the study of the formation and modifiability of attitudes. The present review of the literature revealed a number of studies in this particular category pertinent to citizenship. The work of Thistlethwaite, de Haan, and Kamenetzky,[20] Thistlethwaite and Kamenetzky,[21] Cromwell,[22] Sawyer,[23] Tannenbaum,[24] Kelley and Woodruff,[25] and Cooper[26] is illustrative. These studies are concerned with the effects of various communication variables in changing measured attitudes. Their conclusions are, in general, compatible with the findings and conclusions reported in such summary works as those of Hovland *et al.*, and Schramm *et al.*[27] Illustrative of such findings and conclusions are the following excerpts from Hovland:

> . . . High credibility sources had a substantially greater immediate effect on the audience's *opinions* than low credibility sources.
>
> . . . In communications which deal with complicated issues, it is generally more effective to state the conclusion explicitly than to rely upon the audience to draw its own conclusions.
>
> . . . once a belief is modified by an effective communication there will be a tendency for the newly acquired opinions to interfere with the subsequent acquisition of any incompatible opinions.
>
> . . . persons who are most strongly motivated to retain their membership in a group will be most resistant to communications contrary to the standards of the group.
>
> . . . spoken agreement induced by role playing tends to increase the effectiveness of persuasive communication.[28]

The essential implication of research in this area is that sufficient knowledge is available to set down rules and prescriptions for the design of certain materials and procedures having maximal

effects in inducing attitude changes pertinent to citizenship behavior. To the knowledge of the writer, no such effort has been undertaken with the explicit purpose of formulating rules for the induction of positive democratic attitudes and values.

The work of French and Ernest,[29] Katz, Sarnoff, and McClintock,[30] Holder,[31] and Wagman[32] produced essentially descriptive studies relating certain characteristics of the individual to modifiability of attitudes. Wagman, for instance, as well as French and Ernest, relates the effects of attitude change to authoritarian personality, whereas Katz and Holder undertake studies relating ego defense to attitude change, and relationships of conformity and consistency of value attitudes to personal and social adjustment.

The work of Cook and Selltiz[33] and Gundlach[34] relates to the effects of particular kinds of personal experiences on attitude changes. Again the studies in general urge the caution that contact per se between majority and minority group members is not a sufficient condition for the induction of positive intergroup or interracial attitudes.

One of the most provocative studies uncovered is that of Pearl,[35] who attempted to assess the effects of psychotherapeutic experience upon ethnocentric and prejudicial attitudes as measured by the California E scale. Pearl concludes that such treatment would result in the reduction of negative attitudes and that group psychotherapy would be more effective than individual psychotherapy. The implications of this study are severalfold. One primary value of the study is to provide some validating information for the notion that individuals who are "mentally healthy" are more likely to have and develop positive democratic attitudes than individuals who are "mentally unhealthy." The study also suggests a specific method for the modification of negative attitudes as they might be encountered in particular school settings.

Although the reviewed studies on the formation and modifiability of attitudes are only representative of those which are available, there is considerable support for the generalization that important social attitudes and knowledges are susceptible to change as a function of emotional predispositions, personal experiences, communications, and psychotherapeutic procedures.

DETERMINANTS OF OVERT SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

All too frequently, research pertinent to the process of socialization selects some attitudinal measure as the dependent variable. Although such studies are valuable, they stress the verbal and subjective components of social behavior. Therefore it is of special interest to note three available studies which pertain to or utilize overt behaviors pertinent to citizenship as dependent measures. In one such study by Lefkowitz, Blake, and Mouton,[36] it was demonstrated that pedestrians violated the prohibition of traffic signals more often in the presence of an experimenter's model who violated the prohibition. Furthermore, this study demonstrates the importance of the model's attire in inducing the nonconforming behavior. Haythorn *et al.*[37] report a study in which high and low F-score people were given the task of recording a script for a movie scene. Significant differences between the high and low F score were found in relation to rated behavioral traits, recorded behavioral acts, and responses to a postmeeting reaction sheet.

In a provocative study, Solomon Asch[38] investigated some of the conditions responsible for independence and lack of independence in the face of arbitrary group pressure. Among the preliminary findings reported in this study was the following: the greatest error in minority judgments occurred when public announcement of the decision was required and diminished in the extent of error when the need for announcing it publicly was removed. There was considerable variation in the ability of individuals to resist the arbitrary judgments of the majority.

Though circumstances permit brief citation of only three studies on this topic, others are known to exist. It is the opinion of the writer that the most needed information pertinent to understanding citizenship is that which relates to the correlates and determinants of those specific social behaviors of the individual involved in democratic self-government, *e.g.*, descriptive characteristics of adolescents and adults who vote, take part in political and social groups, and prepare petitions to governmental agencies.

FORMAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES IN EDUCATION

The studies which follow represent recent researches on the effects of more formal educational practices and procedures on

socialization. One article by Mennes[39] assessed the effectiveness of integrating English and World History classes. Mennes found the integrated class to be more effective than the separated conventional instruction in English and history in nineteen out of twenty-nine comparisons between the two groups.

Zeleny[40] in another study suggests the effective use of sociodrama as an aid in teaching international relations in world history. In another experimental report, Phelps and Dobkin[41] indicate the effectiveness of problem-solving discussion techniques to be greater than that of conventional instructional procedures in the teaching of high school civics courses. These investigators further indicate that the problem-solving discussion techniques would appear to be more effective with individuals of higher I.Q. as contrasted with lower I.Q.

Two provocative articles of foreign origin were uncovered in the course of the literature survey, one by Sakellariou[42] suggesting the effectiveness of students' rating themselves on a series of virtues having pertinence to character training, and a second article by Jacobsen[43] suggesting an educational rationale for political education.

Perhaps the most pertinent investigations examined in this category are those by Dimond[44] and Hyman and Wright.[45] These two investigations present descriptive and evaluative information on two citizenship educational programs of long duration. In the Dimond study, there is little doubt that extensive and generally desirable changes in administrative and curricular practices in citizenship education were achieved. Unfortunately, however, little evidence is available as to the effectiveness of such changes in improving the citizenship behavior or potential of the students exposed to such programs. The major utility of this study appears to be that of providing administrative insight into the conduct of research in citizenship education. The study by Hyman and Wright is most valuable in indicating how an ongoing citizenship education program might be evaluated. This study, in addition to specific methodologies and procedures, provides provocative content regarding the underlying dynamics and correlates of citizenship behavior. One such finding is that, as a result of the Encampment for Citizenship experience, "campers remained firm

in their belief in the potency of group action in the solution of social problems, but declined in beliefs that individualistic action is effective." Although it is concluded that the Encampment experience produced essentially desirable effects on the campers, the above finding is somewhat distressing and merits detailed investigation.

Of special significance are the investigations of the Character Research Project at Union College.[46] The literature emanating from this project has several implications, one of which is related to the data and insights concerning character development and modification. While the religious and theological circumstances of the project necessitate care in applying the project's findings to character development and citizenship behavior in other settings, there is little doubt that the research findings of that project do have generalizable insights applicable to secondary school citizenship training. Equally significant to the specific facts and insights gathered by the CRP is the impressive demonstration that rigorous research and novel educational programs can operate in a symbiotic relationship to each other over a prolonged period. Such an educational program has the unique advantage of being self-correcting via the vehicle of empirical evaluation.

It is recognized that other chapters in the present volume deal with specific findings of research studies of character and citizenship education. I wish to stress, however, the major significance these studies have in demonstrating the feasibility of organizing and executing research on citizenship education. Reviewed studies indicate that there is no intrinsic incompatibility between the requirements of rigorous research methodology and "social action" programs aimed at the conceptualization and implementation of novel citizenship education programs.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES PERTINENT TO CITIZENSHIP

In this section, a number of items revealed in the literature are cited as being potentially useful in the conduct of investigations of citizenship.

Banham[47] describes a scale, Social Competence Inventory for

Adults, composed of a standardized interview and behavior check list, which has pertinence to some critical citizenship behavior. Eysenck,[48] Guetzkow,[49] and Duijker[50] present theoretical systems relating attitudinal concepts to such social behaviors as are frequently subsumed by citizenship. Furthermore, the authors discuss in detail research procedures requisite for the study of such social attitudes and behaviors. These works have extensive bibliographies. Somewhat similarly, Morris and Jones[51] present theoretical and procedural discussions relating to the study of human values which have considerable pertinence to the study of citizenship.

On the topic of political involvement, Eulau and Schneider[52] report the construction and utility of Guttman-type scales ("sense of political efficacy" and "sense of citizenship responsibility"). These scales permit the derivation of an "index of political relatedness," which has been found to relate to other measures of political involvement.

Of pertinence to specific programs of citizenship education is the work of Luntz,[53] who reports intercorrelations between teacher grades and scores on the Diamond-Pflieger Problems of Democracy Test, Form Am., Crary American Test, and the Cummings World History Test.

Krugman[54] and Belbin[55] report on the reactions of individuals to propaganda. Unique implications of these studies are methods and procedures for the rigorous assessment of propaganda effects. Other unique methodologies are reflected in the recent work of Fishman,[56] Bieri,[57] and Gittler and Harper,[58] which utilizes perceptual concepts and methods in the study of social behavior. Related to the study of social groups, the work of Hemphill[59] and Taba[60] represents recent reports containing useful descriptions of research methods.

A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Summary reactions to the references cited in the preceding review would include the following:

1. There is a substantial number and variety of currently published research from a variety of sources pertinent to adolescent character development and citizenship behavior.

2. The content of these studies is worthy of summary and integration in order to develop synthetic formulations of the nature of adolescent character and personality and its relationship to citizenship behavior.

3. There is a unique richness of research methods and measures which are available for the study of the socialization processes related to good citizenship.

4. There is substantial information available which is readily implemented into programs of citizenship education and which is likely to enhance the effectiveness of such programs.

Some Reflections on Determinants of and Education for Good Citizenship

The following material represents some of the thoughts and impressions I have had as a result of considering the problem of citizenship behavior and education. As such, they are a series of subjective, hopefully useful, insights which have an orientation to current psychological concepts and research.

THE HOME ENVIRONMENT, MENTAL HEALTH, AND CITIZENSHIP

One frequently recurring concept in the literature on citizenship education is the notion that individuals who show poor mental health or inadequate social-emotional adjustment are not likely to manifest good citizenship behavior. Although the postulated mechanisms and dynamics underlying such interpretations vary somewhat along different theoretical dimensions, the proponents of such notions nonetheless agree that citizenship behavior is not likely to be of a desired democratic sort unless the individual manifests certain general characteristics of positive mental health and adjustment.

Unfortunately, though we have considerable data on characteristics of juvenile delinquents and asocial behaviors on the part of adolescents, we cannot readily pinpoint specific personality

attributes, varieties of social-emotional adjustments, and states of mental health which correlate clearly and unambiguously with positive citizenship behavior. It would appear that a critical dimension for future research is study with more rigorous techniques and methodologies of possible relationships of this sort in order to increase our understanding of the underlying mental health dynamics of good citizenship behavior.

Along somewhat similiar lines is the frequently encountered statement that certain types of home environment tend to predispose the individual toward adequate citizenship behavior. Again the data are somewhat inconclusive and contradictory. Although it appears that this hypothesized relationship is reasonable, additional research is desirable to eliminate the ambiguities and confusions in the available data.

THE INSTIGATION OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP

An extremely provocative feature of citizenship behavior is that frequently both "good" and "poor" citizens appear to know in a factual way the necessary or desired behaviors in particular social situations. However, the "good" citizen is characterized by *doing* something constructive or positive in the particular situation, whereas the "poor" citizen's behavior is characterized by the nonperformance of the constructive act. The distinguishing characteristic would appear to be the operation of instigatory processes in the "good" citizen and the lack of such processes in the "poor" citizen.

It would appear that a critical problem area in the understanding of citizenship behavior is that concerned with the attempt to pinpoint what the instigatory mechanisms of "good" citizenship behavior might be, and how such mechanisms might be induced within adolescents during appropriate social situations.

VALUE ACQUISITION AND CITIZENSHIP

Much of the socialization process is frequently explained in terms of value inculcation. The concept of values is an extremely complex one from the point of view of both theory construction and research. In some respects, it would appear that ultimate or

basic values of goodness, beauty, truth, justice, and honesty are ordinarily superficially explored by the individual. Furthermore, it would appear that relatively extreme situations, which are rarely encountered in our democratic society, are associated with the individual's attempt to wrestle with value formulation and the thinking through of behaviors which are compatible with basic value structures. One recent study by Toch and Cantril[61] suggests a procedure suitable for use in secondary schools by which values may be manipulated or at least studied in their relationship to citizenship behavior. In this study, students vicariously "role-played" reactions to "imminent death" situations and indicated what important behaviors they would manifest under such circumstances. Perhaps with techniques such as those suggested by Toch and Cantril, experimental programs might be developed within school systems which would permit more direct modification of basic values related to citizenship behavior.

THE DIFFERENTIATION OF SOCIAL STIMULI IN CITIZENSHIP

There are certain theoretical orientations in present-day psychological theory which suggest that a critical determinant of behavior relates to operant perceptual processes. A common interpretation of perception theorists is that the ability to learn a particular response to a particular stimulus context presupposes the individual's ability to differentiate the particular stimulus context from other similar-appearing contexts requiring different responses. I suspect that one of the possible factors which may account for frequently observed "poor" citizenship behavior is that the individual frequently fails to discriminate particular stimulus situations as requiring action. As an illustration, although the adolescent or adult may recognize or know in a factual way that the deprivation of political rights is an undemocratic situation requiring at least protest action on his part, he may fail to appreciate that the treatment of Nisei on the West Coast during the beginning of World War II was an instance of such undemocratic treatment. In similar fashion, the adolescent may fail to understand that the "separate but equal" doctrine prevalent in southern states regarding

On the Utility of Psychological Concepts and Research Strategies in Citizenship Education

All things considered, I have been impressed in my review of the literature in citizenship education by the fact that educators have, at one time or another, invoked many of the available concepts or theories of psychology and of other behavioral sciences in their discussion of citizenship education. Illustrative of such extensive and eclectic samplings of available theoretical constructs are the references to attitude formation, role theory, personality psychodynamics, and psychosocial trends in development —concepts that are found in the AASA yearbook on citizenship education.[62] As a matter of fact, I would be hard pressed to specify any single psychological construct which has escaped the avaricious appetites of educators in search of rationales and procedures for the enhancement of citizenship education. If educators have missed anything in such *tours-de-force* as *Education for Citizenship*[63] and *Behavioral Goals of General Education in the High School*[64] it is not theoretical concepts, but rather an appreciation of the need for rigorous evaluation prior to the application of such concepts.

If, then, a social scientist wishes to make constructive recommendations on behalf of research and practice in citizenship education, it follows from the above that he is likely to suggest more critical evaluation of presently utilized concepts and data, rather than the use of novel theoretical constructs. As a case in point, it is quite common to find a wide variety of motivational constructs postulated or implied to explain citizenship behavior. Illustrative of these are the "desire for peer approval," motives for "dominance" and "submission," "power" motives, needs for "recognition," and motives for "self-actualization." Each of these constructs—and they are constructs, not proven entities—represents an effort to explain limited phenomena. However, they have been reified and taken out of their original context in attempts to explain adolescent citizenship behavior. A principal need in adolescent

citizenship education is for extended research to validate and verify such applications.

However, if psychological concepts of unverified applicability to citizenship behavior can have pragmatic utility for discourse and speculation, then it may be profitable to examine several recently developed concepts. Most inclusive theories of human behavior postulate motivational mechanisms which initiate, direct, and sustain behavior. In addition, good theory usually provides cognitive mechanisms which account for the organism's awareness of its internal and external environments. Most psychological theory also requires the specification of learning mechanisms which mediate behavioral changes as a result of experiential variables. Finally, all behavior theory acknowledges the influence of the organism's environment on the processes of motivation, perception, and learning.

Of the many motivational concepts and theories available, of special relevance to the problem of adolescent citizenship education are the relatively recent theoretical formulations by Mowrer[65] and Dollard and Miller[68] on the role of "anxiety" in the induction of social behavior, especially as it relates to conforming behavior. An illustrative derivation of such theory might be that since the voicing of unpopular political opinion is likely to lead to criticism and other negative reactions from one's peers, and since such anticipated criticism generates anxiety, the individual undertakes those behaviors likely to reduce anxiety (repressing of unpopular opinion or expressing concurrence with group opinion) which, in turn, tends to reinforce conformity behaviors and to weaken nonconforming behavior tendencies. Less well articulated, but more positive in their philosophical implication, are recent speculations regarding the role of "curiosity" motives in social behavior. Illustrative of such notions might be the speculation that many of the delinquent's asocial and antisocial acts are motivated by the desire to rule out new sensory experiences (perceptual curiosity). It would appear that attempts to understand the structure of adolescent citizenship behavior in such terms as anxiety and curiosity might tend to account for observed differences in autocratic as against democratic behaviors and attitudes and in variations in civic group participation.

Similarly, recent theoretical formulations regarding cognition and perception, if rigorously applied, might further clarify one's understanding of the necessary educational processes underlying citizenship behavior. A simple derivation might be that a primary determinant of nonparticipation in political organizations or in "better-business" groups is the failure of most "citizens" to "see" such groups as being willing or able to concern themselves with opinions or attitudes of "citizens." A summary of current theory and data on perceptual determinants of social behavior is found in Tagiuri and Petrullo's recent publication.[67] The authors in this volume underscore the effects of such factors as motivation, attitudes, and prior learning as determinants of the individual's awareness of his social environment and, in turn, the effects of such perceptions on the individual's behavior with such social objects as people, institutions, and social concepts.

Of the many recent developments in learning theory, the work of Ferster and Skinner[68] on the effects of "contingencies of reinforcement" seems especially appropriate in understanding the persistence or nonpersistence of critical social behaviors pertinent to citizenship. Although Skinner's work has been predominantly with lower animals and with relatively simple skills, his demonstrations of the control and predictability of behavior as a function of various schedules of rewards and punishments suggest that one might effectively reorient traditional thinking about the acquisition and maintenance of good citizenship behaviors. For instance, in the case of "communication behaviors" to legislative representatives and governmental officials, it would be most instructive to know what kinds and patterns (frequency and periodicity) of satisfactions and dissatisfactions are experienced by persons who do, and persons who do not, express themselves regarding government policy and action.

Although I have repeatedly indicated the need for specific researches throughout the present paper, I have not commented on the priorities or strategies of such research. Of the many experiments and research programs that might be recommended to further our present understanding of citizenship behavior, that which appears to be most necessary is a rigorous developmental study of a representative sample of the American population in

which many of the currently suggestive correlates of citizenship behavior (*e.g.*, ethnocentric attitudes, socioeconomic indices, and personality variables) would be interrelated with environmental and experimental variables and social behaviors pertinent to citizenship. The key element in such a study would be to compensate for two critical inadequacies of currently available studies. One inadequacy relates to the general failure to provide for extended follow-up and correlation to long-term criteria of citizenship. The second inadequacy of current studies relates to the failure to utilize integrated and global criteria of citizenship behavior; *i.e.*, most current research is oriented to the interrelationship between highly selected and limited variables, such as ethnocentrism and familiarity with current affairs. Such a developmental study, though primarily descriptive, would also provide opportunity for the cross-validation of preliminary principles which are currently available, as well as the testing of novel hypotheses regarding the evolution of citizenship behavior through the individual's life span.

In somewhat similar fashion, of the many recommendations that might be made for action programs in adolescent citizenship education, the one which seems to be most needed (but which may very well be least feasible) is the introduction of realism in secondary school programs. As indicated earlier in the present paper, one significant factor which may account for the failure of high school graduates in manifesting positive democratic citizenship in their adult lives is the lack of correspondence between what they learn to cope with in the schools and what they must cope with in the political, social, and economic spheres of postschool life. Such lack of correspondence relates not only to subject matter, such as facts of government and social skills of parliamentary behavior, but more importantly to the emotional and motivational factors involved in the social settings characterizing positive citizenship. As a case in point, one may seriously question the relevance or realism of secondary school instruction for later citizenship behavior if the student is not given the opportunity to learn to cope with the "anxiety" of approaching and questioning a politician or public official or of articulating an unpopular opinion before a "hostile" audience.

Similarly, recent theoretical formulations regarding cognition and perception, if rigorously applied, might further clarify one's understanding of the necessary educational processes underlying citizenship behavior. A simple derivation might be that a primary determinant of nonparticipation in political organizations or in "better-business" groups is the failure of most "citizens" to "see" such groups as being willing or able to concern themselves with opinions or attitudes of "citizens." A summary of current theory and data on perceptual determinants of social behavior is found in Tagiuri and Petrullo's recent publication.[67] The authors in this volume underscore the effects of such factors as motivation, attitudes, and prior learning as determinants of the individual's awareness of his social environment and, in turn, the effects of such perceptions on the individual's behavior with such social objects as people, institutions, and social concepts.

Of the many recent developments in learning theory, the work of Ferster and Skinner[68] on the effects of "contingencies of reinforcement" seems especially appropriate in understanding the persistence or nonpersistence of critical social behaviors pertinent to citizenship. Although Skinner's work has been predominantly with lower animals and with relatively simple skills, his demonstrations of the control and predictability of behavior as a function of various schedules of rewards and punishments suggest that one might effectively reorient traditional thinking about the acquisition and maintenance of good citizenship behaviors. For instance, in the case of "communication behaviors" to legislative representatives and governmental officials, it would be most instructive to know what kinds and patterns (frequency and periodicity) of satisfactions and dissatisfactions are experienced by persons who do, and persons who do not, express themselves regarding government policy and action.

Although I have repeatedly indicated the need for specific researches throughout the present paper, I have not commented on the priorities or strategies of such research. Of the many experiments and research programs that might be recommended to further our present understanding of citizenship behavior, that which appears to be most necessary is a rigorous developmental study of a representative sample of the American population in

which many of the currently suggestive correlates of citizenship behavior (*e.g.*, ethnocentric attitudes, socioeconomic indices, and personality variables) would be interrelated with environmental and experimental variables and social behaviors pertinent to citizenship. The key element in such a study would be to compensate for two critical inadequacies of currently available studies. One inadequacy relates to the general failure to provide for extended follow-up and correlation to long-term criteria of citizenship. The second inadequacy of current studies relates to the failure to utilize integrated and global criteria of citizenship behavior; *i.e.*, most current research is oriented to the interrelationship between highly selected and limited variables, such as ethnocentrism and familiarity with current affairs. Such a developmental study, though primarily descriptive, would also provide opportunity for the cross-validation of preliminary principles which are currently available, as well as the testing of novel hypotheses regarding the evolution of citizenship behavior through the individual's life span.

In somewhat similar fashion, of the many recommendations that might be made for action programs in adolescent citizenship education, the one which seems to be most needed (but which may very well be least feasible) is the introduction of realism in secondary school programs. As indicated earlier in the present paper, one significant factor which may account for the failure of high school graduates in manifesting positive democratic citizenship in their adult lives is the lack of correspondence between what they learn to cope with in the schools and what they must cope with in the political, social, and economic spheres of postschool life. Such lack of correspondence relates not only to subject matter, such as facts of government and social skills of parliamentary behavior, but more importantly to the emotional and motivational factors involved in the social settings characterizing positive citizenship. As a case in point, one may seriously question the relevance or realism of secondary school instruction for later citizenship behavior if the student is not given the opportunity to learn to cope with the "anxiety" of approaching and questioning a politician or public official or of articulating an unpopular opinion before a "hostile" audience.

In summation, then, it has been suggested that fruitful next steps in the study and improvement of citizenship education in the secondary school might include:

a. Critical evaluations of the utility and applicability of various psychological and sociological concepts at present being exploited by educators.
b. Explorations in the utility of "anxiety" and "curiosity" constructs in social motivations, "interpersonal perception" constructs in social perception, and "contingency of reinforcement" constructs in social learning and maintenance of social behaviors.
c. The design and execution of a long-term developmental study of citizenship behavior with the intention of interrelating personality, social, and experiential variables with integrated and "global" criteria of citizenship.
d. The immediate incorporation into secondary school programs for citizenship education of materials and procedures which permit the student an opportunity to learn to cope with some of the realistic emotional and motivational features of good citizenship.

Summary and Conclusions

To review, I have briefly summarized recent publications in the psychological literature. This survey yielded a number of pertinent studies relating to the measurement and modification of social attitudes, the determinants of overt social behaviors, evaluative reports of selected citizenship education programs, and novel research methodology pertinent to future studies of adolescent socialization. The significant import of this review is that considerable data, theory, and research methodology are available to expand our current understanding of adolescent personality and character and also to permit immediate implementation of citizenship education programs.

Furthermore, I have commented in some detail on what I consider to be some critical aspects of citizenship behavior and educational programs. These comments have suggested specific

factors (*e.g.*, instigating processes) which may be critical in the manifestation of "good" citizenship behaviors, specific concepts (*e.g.*, anxiety and curiosity) which might merit further exploitation in the study of selected social behaviors, and finally certain general and specific recommendations for research and action programs relating to citizenship education.

NOTES

1. H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, *The American Teenager*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1957.
2. H. H. Remmers, R. E. Horton, and W. F. Seibert, "Youth's Knowledge of the U. S. Economy and Related Attitudes." *Purdue Opinion Panel Report*, 14 (3) (No. 42) 9, 1955.
3. R. W. Heath, M. H. Maier, and H. H. Remmers, "What Does Youth Want from Education and Jobs?" *Purdue Opinion Panel Report*, 16 (2) (No. 48) 10, 1957.
4. Earl Hamliton Pierro, "A Comparative Analysis of the Occupational Aspirations of Rural-Urban Negro Adolescents." *Dissertation Abstracts*, 15: 1137, 1955.
5. From *The American Teenager*, by H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, © 1957, pp. 186, 198, used by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.
6. R. Ruth, "Attitudes of University Students Towards Some Politico-Economic Issues." *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 30: 43-54, 1955.
7. Ames W. Chapman, "Attitudes Toward Legal Authorities by Juveniles." *Sociology and Social Research*, 40: 170-75, 1956.
8. A. R. Crane, "Stereotypes of the Adult Held by Early Adolescents." *Journal of Educational Research*, 50: 227-30, 1956.
9. Andrew Harry Souerwine, "Relationships Between Parents and Sons on Authoritarianism." *Dissertation Abstracts*, 15: 157-58, 1955.
10. Frieda L. Bornstein and James C. Coleman, "The Relationship Between Certain Parents' Attitudes Toward Child Rearing and the Direction of Aggression of their Young Adult Offspring." *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 12: 41-44, 1956.
11. Bernard C. Rosen, "The Reference Group Approach to the Parental Factor in Attitude and Behavior Formation." *Social Forces*, 34: 137-44, 1955.
12. W. J. Campbell, "Some Correlates of Ethnocentrism." *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 6: 178-85, 1954.
13. Charles F. Warnath, "The Relation of Family Cohesiveness and Adolescent Independence to Social Effectiveness." *Marriage and Family Living*, 17: 346-48, 1955.
14. Paul H. Landis, "The Ordering and Forbidding Technique and Teenage Adjustment." *School and Society*, 80: 105-06, 1954.
15. R. Christie and Peggy Cook, "A Guide to Published Literature Relat-

ing to the Authoritarian Personality through 1956." *Journal of Psychology*, 45: 171-99, 1958; see pp. 176-78, 188.

16. Lawrence Siegel, Herbert L. Coon, Harold B. Pepinsky, and Stanley Rubin, "Expressed Standards of Behavior of High School Students, Teachers, and Parents." *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 34: 261-67, 1956.

17. Howard Moss, "Standards of Conduct for Students, Teachers, and Parents." *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 2: 39-42, 1955.

18. Maurice F. Freehill, "The Democratic College Student." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 46: 477-87, 1955.

19. Miriam Holman, "Adolescent Attitudes Toward Seeking Help with Personal Problems." *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 25 (3): 1-31, 1955.

20. Donald L. Thistlethwaite, Henry de Haan, and Joseph Kamenetzky, "The Effects of 'Directive' and 'Non-Directive' Communication Procedures on Attitudes." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 51: 107-13, 1955. USAF Personnel Training Research Center Bulletin, No. AFPTRC-TN-55-39, 1955.

21. Donald L. Thistlethwaite and Joseph Kamenetzky, "Attitude Change through Refutation and Elaboration of Audience Counter-arguments." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 51: 3-12, 1955.

22. Harvey Cromwell, "The Persistency of the Effect of Argumentative Speeches." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 41: 154-58, 1955.

23. Thomas M. Sawyer, Jr., "Shift of Attitude Following Persuasion as Related to Estimate of Majority Attitude." *Speech Monographs*, 22: 68-78, 1955.

24. Percy H. Tannenbaum, "Initial Attitude Toward Source and Concept as Factors in Attitude Change through Communications." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 20: 413-25, 1956.

25. Harold H. Kelley and Christine Lipps Woodruff, "Members' Reactions to Apparent Group Approval of a Counter-Norm Communication." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 52: 67-74, 1956.

26. Joseph B. Cooper, "Perceptual Organization as a Function of Politically Oriented Communication." *Journal of Social Psychology*, 41: 319-24, 1955.

27. See C. I. Hovland, I. L. Jarvis, and H. H. Kelley, *Communication and Persuasion*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953; and Wilbur Schramm, editor, *Communication in Modern Society*, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1948.

28. Hovland, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 270, 272-73, 275, 277, 278.

29. Elizabeth G. French and Raymond R. Ernest, "The Relation Between Authoritarianism and Acceptance of Military Ideology." USAF Personnel Training Research Center Research Report, No. AFPTRC-TN-56-34, 1956. Reprinted from *Journal of Personality*, 24: 181-91, 1955.

30. Daniel Katz, Irving Sarnoff, and Charles McClintock, "Ego-defense and Attitude Change." *Human Relations*, 9: 27-45, 1956.

31. W. B. Holder, "The Relationship of Conformity and Consistency of Value Attitudes to Personal and Social Adjustment." *Dissertation Abstracts*, 16: 1277-78, 1956.

32. Morton Wagman, "Attitude Change and Authoritarian Personality." *Journal of Psychology*, 40: 3-24, 1955.

33. S. W. Cook and Claire Selltiz, "Some Factors Which Influence the

Attitudinal Outcomes of Personal Contact." *International Social Science Bulletin*, 7: 51-58, 1955.

34. R. H. Gundlach, "Effects of On-the-Job Experiences with Negroes Upon Racial Attitudes of White Workers in Union Shops." *Psychological Reports*, 2: 67-77, 1956.

35. David Pearl, "Psychotherapy and Ethnocentrism." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 50: 227-29, 1955.

36. Monroe Lefkowitz, Robert R. Blake, and Jane S. Mouton, "Status Factors in Pedestrian Violation of Traffic Signals." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 51: 704-06, 1955.

37. William Haythorn, Arthur Couch, Donald Haefner, P. Langham, and L. F. Carter, "The Behavior of Authoritarian and Equalitarian Personalities in Groups." *Human Relations*, 9: 57-74, 1956.

38. Solomon E. Asch, "Studies of Independence and Conformity: I. A. Minority of One Against a Unanimous Majority." *Psychological Monographs*, 70 (9), (No. 416), 1956.

39. A. H. Mennes, "The Effectiveness of Multiple Period Curricular Practices in High School English and Social Studies." *Journal of Educational Research*, 50: 59-69, 1956.

40. Leslie D. Zeleny, "The Sociodrama as an Aid in Teaching International Relations and World History." *International Journal of Sociometry*, 1: 29-33, 1956.

41. W. W. Phelps and M. Dobkin, "Problem-solving Discussion and the High School Civics Course." *California Journal of Educational Research*, 8: 8-15, 1957.

42. George Sakellariou, *A New Method of Character Training Applied on 200,000 Students in Greece and Egypt*. Athens, Greece: Athens University Psychological Laboratory, 1955.

43. Walter Jacobsen, "Beitrag der Psychologie zu Bemühungen um Politische Bildung" ("Contribution of Psychology to Efforts toward Political Education"). *Psychologische Rundschau*, 7: 224-30, 1956.

44. Stanley E. Dimond, *Schools and the Development of Good Citizens*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953.

45. H. H. Hyman and C. R. Wright, *Youth in Transition: An Evaluation of the Contribution of the Encampment for Citizenship to the Education of Youth*. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1956. (Mimeographed)

46. Ernest M. Ligon, *An Outline of the Conceptual History of the Union College Character Research Project, 1935-53*. Schenectady, New York: Union College, Character Research Project, 1953.

47. Katherine M. Banham, "Estimating Social Incompetence in Adults." *Mental Hygiene*, 40: 427-37, 1956.

48. H. J. Eysenck, *The Psychology of Politics*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1955.

49. Harold Guetzkow, *Multiple Loyalties: Theoretical Approach to a Problem in International Organization*. Princeton, New Jersey: Center for Research on World Political Institutions, Publication 4.

50. H. C. J. Duijker, "Comparative Research in Social Science with Special Reference to Attitude Research." *International Social Science Bulletin*, 7: 555-66, 1955.

51. See Charles Morries and Lyle V. Jones, "Value Scales and Dimen-

sions." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 51: 523-35, 1955; and Charles Morris, *Varieties of Human Value*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956.

52. Heinz Eulau and Peter Schneider, "Dimensions of Political Involvement." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 20: 128-42, 1956.

53. Lester Luntz, "Some Reliability and Validity Data on the Diamond-Pflieger Problems of Democracy Test, Form Am." *Educational Records Bulletin*, 66: 69-73, 1955.

54. Herbert E. Krugman, "The Measurement of Resistance to Propaganda." *Human Relations*, 8: 175-84, 1955.

55. See Eunice Belbin, "The Effects of Propaganda on Recall, Recognition and Behavior, I. The Relationship Between the Different Measures of Propaganda Effectiveness." *British Journal of Psychology*, 47: 163-74, 1955; and Eunice Belbin, "The Effects of Propaganda on Recall, Recognition and Behavior, II. The Conditions Which Determine the Response to Propaganda." *British Journal of Psychology*, 47: 259-70, 1956.

56. Joshua A. Fishman, "An Examination of the Process and Function of Social Stereotyping." *Journal of Social Psychology*, 43: 27-64, 1956.

57. James Bieri, "Cognitive Complexity-Simplicity and Predictive Behavior." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 51: 263-68, 1955.

58. Joseph B. Gittler and Dean H. Harper, "Measuring the Awareness of the Problem of Group Hostility." *Social Forces*, 34: 163-67.

59. I. K. Hemphill, *Group Dimensions: A Manual for Their Measurement*. Columbus: The Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, Monograph No. 87, 1956.

60. Hilda Taba, *With Perspective on Human Relations: A Study of Peer Group Dynamics in an Eighth Grade*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1955.

61. Hans Toch and Hadley Cantril, "A Preliminary Inquiry into the Learning of Values." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 48: 145-56, 1957.

62. Thirty-second Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, *Educating for American Citizenship*. Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1954.

63. The Commissioners of Education of the Northeastern States, *Education for Citizenship*. Report of the Committee on Education for Citizenship, April, 1952.

64. Will French and Associates, *Behavioral Goals of General Education in High School*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1957.

65. O. H. Mowrer, *Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics*. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950.

66. John Dollard and Neal Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950.

67. R. Tagiuri and L. Petrullo, editors, *Person Perception and Interpersonal Behavior*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1958.

68. C. B. Ferster and B. F. Skinner, *Schedules of Reinforcement*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957.

CHAPTER NINE

Research Approaches to the Problem of Civic Training

ROBERT CHIN

LOOSENING UP OF THE POSITIONS OF RESEARCHER AND practitioner of adolescent education for democratic citizenship in areas which do not affect the core goals of each role will make for better working relations. The present chapter attempts to explore the flexibility of research activities, justify some of these research choices in terms of the educational practitioners' requirement and, in this sense, move the researcher closer to the practitioner. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to examine policy choices in conducting research on educational programs. First, this examination will be undertaken in terms of type of research to be done; then within types, choices of variables and their bases will be examined. Thus the first section deals with the different uses of research. The second section deals with the problem of selection of independent and dependent variables. Third, we list some dimensions which need to be taken into account in choosing the

dependent or criterion variables. Fourth, we present a proposal for measuring and validating concepts related to citizenship. Finally, a brief overview of the implications of our discussion is attempted. The statements throughout the chapter are offered in the form of positive assertion rather than in a spirit of inquiry. Repeated qualifications and disclaimers would tend to obscure the presentation.

This chapter violates a canon presented later, namely, the principle of reasonableness of achievement. Admittedly, no research project can fulfill all of the conditions raised in this presentation. They are presented in the spirit of illuminating the more general field of research, setting forth policy choices, and providing some of the bench marks or guidelines with which studies of citizenship education might proceed. We have not canvassed systematically or catalogued all of the relevant applied and evaluation research studies, but we will use some of these as illustrations of our points. Our general position might be made explicit: we assume that social practice (education for citizenship, in this case) needs a specialized approach to research, which can contribute to the practitioner's science and provide some hunches for his art. Thus, we have kept an eye on a wide spectrum of evaluation and applied research, assuming that all such fields face some problems in common.

Uses of Research on Programs of Education, Action, Training, or Treatment

Underlying all research is the use of the scientific method as a spirit or mode of approach and as an assumption in a philosophy of science. Throughout this chapter, we assume that the canons of scientific method are not violated. We *are* concerned with the various forms which scientific inquiry may take. We suggest that there are distinguishably different purposes in conducting research on programs of action and that the purposes affect our design, the factors studied, the kinds of conclusions we may draw, and the contribution we make. Our efforts will be more feasible and, in turn, more useful, when we are cognizant of our primary goals,

or combination of goals, in conducting research on programs of action designed to improve training. Chein, Cook, and Harding decry arguments over "pure" and "applied" science and state that

> . . . scientific techniques may be adapted to nonscientific practical purposes, but if the sole concern is with the practical purposes and not at all with exploring the unknown or contributing to the systematization of knowledge, then the adapter may be a high grade technologist, but he is not a scientist, "pure" or "applied." A physician, for example, does not become a scientist merely by doing urine analyses.[1]

As we shall see, an orientation to the development of systematic knowledge underlies many of the positions to be stated.

Our approach uses the language of independent, dependent, and criterion variables, since we are concerned with the determining conditions of events. Independent variables are those variables that are altered from their usual state in order to see what happens to the event. A program of action, education, or training is created or altered to see what improvements in citizenship occur. The term *criterion variable* is used here to refer to the selected dependent variables which are considered to be at the "criterion," the "pay-off," or success-failure level. That is, criterion variables are deliberately selected from the gamut of dependent variables, on the basis of some practical interest other than scientific requirements.

The six uses of research we distinguish below are not always separable in a project. More frequently than not, however, we can determine the primary aim, or usable result, of a study. A chart is presented in an appendix to this chapter as a concise statement of our judgments about the variables, design and control, and the kinds of utility they may have to practitioners.

RESEARCH USED FOR DETERMINING EFFECTIVENESS OF A PROGRAM OF ACTION OR TRAINING

The usual distinction separating evaluation research from basic research is that evaluation research in social practice is centered around determining the effects of a specific program of action or training, for instance, a therapy program, an educational experi-

ment, a workshop, or an institute. Increasingly, practitioners in education, social work, therapy, re-education, and group training are willing and eager to conduct evaluation research on their programs. Practitioners have been concerned with estimating the effectiveness of their programs or educational designs or justifying to an administration the policy and budget of an experimental program, and, at times, with reassuring themselves in order to quell their own gnawing doubts. In general, the research emphasis is on determining whether any other "changes" occurred. Two studies of youth groups in summer nonschool programs may be cited as illustrations. Riecken studied the Quaker Work Camps[2] for college students by using pre- and postmeasures of variables that were representative of the sponsoring organization's goals. The Hyman and Wright study[3] of the Encampment for Citizenship (ages 17-24) is a very sophisticated and ingenious analysis of pre- and postquestionnaire data on citizenship. Hyman and Wright designed questionnaire instruments for assessing six areas: (1) campers' basic values—free response to questions about worthy ambition, ingredients of an ideal society, personal sacrifice, criteria for ranking occupations, and personal career goals; (2) action orientation—check lists, scales, free response procedures on local, national, and international problems; (3) cognition of social problems—batteries and indices on optimism, time perspective perceived, individual and group potency; (4) salient social attitudes and opinions—15 scales; (5) perceived relationship with rest of society—three scales; (6) conduct—free responses and sociometric friendship.

The Detroit Citizenship Education Study—a large-scale project—is probably the most pertinent study on adolescent youth in regular school situations. It employed information and personality problems tests to assess the effects on students of the "cooperative method" of working with teachers.

Methodologically, in such studies dependent variables, also called the criterion variables, were chosen on the basis of the sponsor's goals, and various aspects of the program as a whole were used as independent variables. The design has varied from simple postprogram subjective reactions of clients-trainees or the practitioner, to *post hoc* quasi-experimental designs, to sophisti-

cated pre- and posttests with control groups. The researcher's role has been to provide technical competence for handling problems of measurement and design. There have usually been a great number of uncontrolled factors in such studies, some of which it has been possible to separate out by ingenious analytic procedures. For instance, Hyman and Wright separate out some of the "background" factors which might be producing change with the Encampment program.

However helpful to the sponsors such studies may be, such evaluation, in our opinion, produces few guides for the improvement of programs, for practical decisions, or for general knowledge relevant to other practitioners. In other words, we do not have any more understanding of the process of action and of action implications for use by practitioners. We can only say, "Go and do likewise," but we do not specify what is the thing to do. For the sponsor, any change in the program becomes tampering and tinkering, since such efforts represent a blind stab at a jumble of swirling factors, any one of which could have produced the obtained degree of effectiveness. Some values, however, are derivable indirectly from such research. The practitioner knows what general kind of program produces some results. He has demonstrated that the criterion variable can be altered toward the desired direction. Further, evaluated demonstration projects, or pilot projects, provide practitioners with clues for their technologies and methods. The conditions for spread of the influence of a demonstration or pilot project need to be conceptualized in a theory of long-range changing if we are to avoid the dying out of consequences soon after the pilot project is stopped. Several sizable citizenship education programs have atrophied or died out with the disappearance of direct "project" influence. The social historian, with his tools of retrospective analysis, has an important role in helping to analyze and test a theory of influence of pilot projects.

RESEARCH USED FOR SOME DECISION, POLICY, OR FUTURE SITUATION

Research may be conducted for prediction of how people will fare in the future. In the field of psychometrics, for example, we

are beginning to realize that generalized measurement of people's attitudes, aptitudes, and so on, is not so valuable (nor in one sense possible) as evaluation research done in the light of the requirements of a decision, policy alternative, or future situation.

The kinds of questions involved typically are: What would happen if we decided to do this rather than that? What consequences are involved in one policy as against another policy? The field called policy science or strategy analysis (theory of games), for example, uses relatively fixed alternatives (criterion variables) and studies the conditions and consequences of one kind as over against another kind of decision. The second type of research, which uses future situations as criterion variables, is included in this section because of the preselection of future states. Ideally, a long time span is needed in a research project of this kind to check whether the predictions hold. A difficulty in design of the research, namely, the self-fulfilling prophecy, needs to be attended to in studying the effects of a decision based on predictions in social affairs.

In citizenship education, could we not say that an evaluation might be set against the requirements of some future situations in which people will be? For instance, we might evaluate a program of citizenship training in terms of the ability of its students to withstand the brainwashing practices of a military and political enemy. Or, at a less dramatic level, we might develop a gallery of future situations involving gradations of levels of citizenship activity and use these to evolve what we will use as criterion variables for the students in this program. Suggestions of future kinds of activities might be: getting along in a well-structured and organized social and cultural system; being an adequate follower; choosing participative affiliations; lending active support to one set of social alternatives, or becoming an innovator-constructer of social alternatives. A further advantage of choosing future situations is that we can play an empirical game in evaluating a program or its quality. We can use predictive validity, in the manner of the psychometricians who work out tests against known criteria in the evaluation of people. Still another advantage is that we would do an analysis of the types of students in the program. We could encompass a range of sociopsychological and personality

factors, an anthropological study of student culture, a sociological analysis of role systems and peer groups, and others. Major attention needs to be paid to the characteristics of students and their actual social environments. Such procedures of evaluation are essentially correlative in design, with minimum attention paid to the explanation of how or why the events occur. One advantage of such applied research, in addition to its practicality, is the notion of "levels" deemed acceptable for citizenship training. We can more realistically estimate the potential of a program in the light of "costs," including the social costs, and the balance of other educational program needs. While practical in this sense, such evaluation research is limited in the amount of understanding it provides.

RESEARCH USED FOR STUDYING AND IMPROVING SPECIFIC PROCEDURES, TECHNIQUES, OR INTERVENTIONS

Research on action programs may be used for studying, examining, and, hopefully, improving a specific procedure, technique, treatment, or intervention. The physical sciences have developed their practical engineering knowledge along this line. The medical sciences have undertaken extensive empirical studies, basic and applied, to evaluate drugs, therapies, and treatments.

Such uses differ from the use of research for general effectiveness in that the research on effectiveness (category above) is global and not differentiated in isolating its techniques or treatments, while this use is designed specifically to tell how a treatment or technique works. The criterion variable is usually some preselected desired outcome with known validity and reliability. Representative studies of such uses and aims of research are Kagan's study of modes of affecting students' attitudes toward Jews,[4] Rosenberg's study of various modes of conducting role playing,[5] Patterson's Youth Community Participation Project,[6] and the Powers and Witmer report on the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study.[7] Both of the latter studies brought adult intervention into contact with youth groups in the community. Such studies as these, as well as the first type, are apt to be questioned in terms of their "Hawthorne effect," where the very fact of doing something produces self-reported changes. Colds get better with or

without antihistamines; workers improve their productivity in the Western Electric Hawthorne plant; workshoppers feel they change; and so forth. Further, theories and conceptual formulations face a major issue, "the notion of unanticipated consequences." Sociologists such as Merton, among others, point out that the actor cannot anticipate all the consequences in a deterministic explanation of his social action, a notion forcefully applicable to present-day social practitioners, due partly to limitations of available knowledge and also to the nature of persons, groups, and social institutions and their processes. A well-designed and controlled attempt, which failed for other reasons, is a study where a specific hypothesis about how a group leader might act in interracial situations was tested. The hypothesis was: "Where friendly feelings characterize the relationships between members of a group of mixed ethnic composition and individual differences from the stereotypes become apparent, the 'isolation' process can be appreciably lessened, and the generalization of the newly developed feelings of friendship to the entire ethnic group promoted if the group leaders frequently call attention to the ethnic affiliations of the group members."

The issue is whether the description of the intentions and actions of the program as given by the staff are sufficient, or whether we need to assess by direct observation, or even by obtaining from the students their perceptions of the stimulus value of the program or treatment. We need to know the student's "definition of the situation," namely, the program or treatment, before we have an adequate statement of the program under evaluation.

Perhaps a few "outrageous hypotheses" (Lynd's felicitous term) are in order here. It is the author's observation that the independent variables open to manipulation and change which have been used to produce increased citizenship have been sorely conservative in centering around curriculum, method, and student activities. Let me venture two or three independent variables open to some manipulation. An outrageous hypothesis might be "teaching by allowing and/or encouraging highly critical attitudes, and indeed a desire for change, of the social institutions, values, and the culture itself, will show more, relative to a one-sided 'positive' approach, attainment of citizenship education's goals, however

conservative these goals may be." (Note that in this hypothesis, I am not questioning the seemingly conservative quality of the goals of most citizenship programs, since this is not my assignment. But whatever happened to the view that we must educate people for leading change or remaking society?) A second outrageous hypothesis concerns the typically assumed limitation on manipulable factors again. If the analysis of the student's resistance to change toward improved citizenship includes his informal learnings and role models, we have to include not only his peer groups and their culture, but also the teacher and the administrative and educational structure. My interrelated hypotheses then run as follows: "Despite the curriculum content, the teacher (or administrator, or even the entire structures) if high on citizenship attributes and conduct, will produce more change than teachers low on such qualities." Also, since a teacher is "fearful" of her superiors (who in turn are fearful of community groups), "An administrative policy, or mode of approach to teachers and students, which encourages conflicts will lead to attaining more of the citizenship program goals than a policy or educational experience which subjugates conflicts."

It is pertinent to report here that evaluation studies which report gains in citizenship have been of the workshop or "cultural island" variety, conducted outside of the institutional school network. In such experiments, the "teachers" or staff are free to experiment, and they usually represent in their personal activities some of the values they are attempting to transmit to others.

Evaluation to Affect the Conductors of a Program

Much research on programs of action has been conducted under the heading of action research, or "participant action research," or cooperative inquiry. In education, we find a deep concern with involving teachers in a program of action in order to induce learning and change. The Detroit Study[8] and Teachers College Studies[9] are examples of community action studies; action research is closely associated with the programs of Kurt Lewin, Stuart Cook,

and Ronald Lippitt.[10] The assumption is that people who are to take action must also be involved in the research process from the very beginning. Not only will they more keenly realize the need for the particular action program finally decided upon, but their ego investments, to use Lippitt's phrase, are brought in on the side of the action program. Without this collaboration, research, diagnosis, and recommendations for change tend to stimulate insecurity, aggression, and rationalization rather than motivated efforts to make changes.

In the evaluation studies called action research, evaluators report, mostly by anecdote, the involvement, good will, increased sensitization, and so forth, of the conductor-teachers-leaders. Such an approach or use of evaluation research has much theoretical and empirical justification in terms of installing, maintaining, and expanding change. If this is the primary use of the evaluation or action research, then the degree of precision of data gathered on the students may be irrelevant, so long as action is steered into the desired channels. However, our position is that both the students' learnings and the teacher's new way of behaving and teaching must be assessed and measured independently. The action-research studies in the community face the same difficulty.

I suggest that, due to the institutional networks in which the learning process is conducted, and to the suggestions emerging from the theoretical emphases on the interdependency of forces involved in change and resistance to change, we need to take into account the involvement of the whole system, especially the teachers and administrators and pupils. Engaging such people in evaluation research jointly with the researchers has been proposed as a procedure to unfreeze the situation, establish direction, and move to a new level of performance on the part of all, with some sacrifice of the quality of data.

RESEARCH USED FOR BUILDING AND TESTING THE PRACTITIONER'S THEORY OF CHANGING

Social practitioners need to develop a systematic body of principles and tested theory relevant to their practices. They need to arrive at a general theory of changing others—the client system—

and get beyond seeing only specific and concrete programs of action or treatment. Research used for building and testing the practitioner's theory of changing differs in orientation from the other uses described in this section. This orientation involves a more conceptual and explicit subsumption of the specific practices in each situation or even discipline, deliberate choice of independent and criterion variables according to some dimensions (outlined later in this chapter), explicit recognition of and "philosophizing" about inherent value questions, analysis of the practical judgments called for in relating theory and confronting cases, and subjecting all of this to as much empirical research as possible. Such research is not interested in a practice by a person with one kind of clients-students, as such, but uses such situations to test general propositions about a theory of changing or action.

Lippitt, Watson, and Westley in their study of the dynamics of planned change present a conceptual orientation for the analysis of the role of the consultant-change agent. The work by Hovland, *et al.*,[11] on attitude change takes on some of the properties of a general theory of changing. The National Training Laboratory's theorization and empirical studies of "training groups" represent the formulation and testing of propositions relevant to groups designed for the specific purposes of learning and re-education, with attention paid to the role and style of the trainer and its effects.[12] The anthropologists' analyses of propositions about deliberate interventions into cultural systems are also instances of using research for building and testing the practitioner's theory of changing persons, situations, and cultures.

As for citizenship education in secondary schools, we need to formulate the problem of change in the individual in more conceptual terms than has been done heretofore. Then we may test our propositions in experimental laboratory situations, field experiments, or designed experiences, curricula, experimental programs, and so forth.

This chapter as a whole, in fact, has been analyzing the problems and prospects of research from the point of view of one who feels that the building and testing of the practitioner's theory of changing is the most useful approach for our purposes.

USE OF RESEARCH FOR SCIENCE BUILDING

At times, research on programs of action may be used for purposes of basic science building. In such cases, since the problems of investigation are dictated by the conceptual schema, or a difficulty in the schema, a gap of knowledge, a conflict of theory, or an unknown factor, the research uses the program of action as a convenient place to observe and test phenomena. It is often agreed that basic social science will contribute more to the field of practice than applied research. There are enough historical examples to justify this statement. It is our thesis that two of the categories above—Research Used for Studying and Improving Specific Procedures, Techniques, or Interventions, and Research Used for Building and Testing the Practitioner's Theory of Changing—*can be* basic research and *are* science building. Our present category is a residual category of basic science and is included in this chapter as a proper and justifiable activity in research on programs of action.

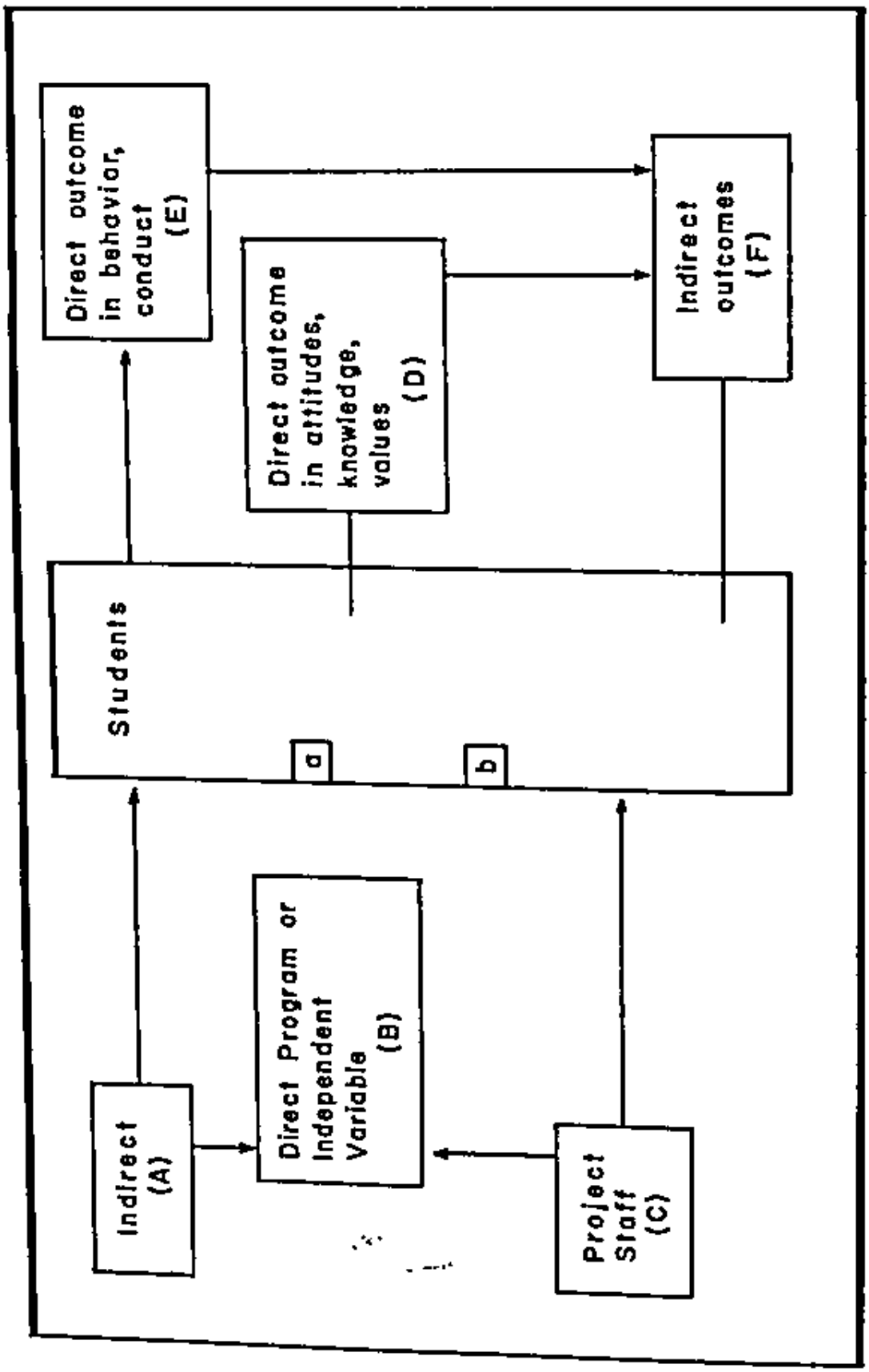
In problems of citizenship education, gaps of information about adolescents, educational and learning processes, social organization of schools, peer culture, personality development, group membership roles, and development of attitudes toward the operation of power in our society are more numerous than solid theory and knowledge. Other chapters in this volume survey the state of theory and knowledge in these areas.

Kinds of Variables

In citizenship education, we run up against a broad scope and range of elements, traits, skills, and manifestations of whatever definition of goals of citizenship education one might choose. "Citizenship education," "democratic citizenship," and similar terms are evidently catchalls for a whole host of affairs. They are given meaning in schools in terms of curriculum units on history, social studies, civics, local government, political participation, social problems, and in such factors as deportment, group membership roles, personality traits, and others.

What can research propose in such situations? First, it is essential that we do not assume that there is one simple and true definition of citizenship. Rather, we should assume that citizenship represents a set of attributes. Thus, the task for research is to select the sets of behaviors we are trying to influence, to study and to theorize about them, using descriptive variables and theoretical constructs. Second, we must accept the possibility of multiple levels arising from the different kinds of conceptual schemas usable to explain the same behaviors. We should not assume that by merely placing together a group of research and action people from separate disciplines and calling them an interdisciplinary group, we solve our problems stemming from deep-rooted issues. I propose several steps here: (1) acknowledge the legitimacy of a whole set of conceptually different levels of description and analysis; (2) select those levels which we judge to be fruitful for investigation and on the basis of some value judgments; (3) run a multitrack analysis and research. In essence, I am proposing that multidisciplinary collaboration, rather than interdisciplinary, be our working pattern. This is because I do not know of any truly interdisciplinary conceptual framework available for the analysis of citizenship education.

Let us try to schematize the factors which might be studied at whatever level we work. We shall use a model of analysis involving independent and dependent variables with constructs and intervening variables. First we shall examine the independent-variable side of the diagram. Let us distinguish between the factors or variables which are objective statements of social institutional or cultural factors, and those factors as they actually impinge on or affect students. For instance, an analysis of the social-class variable or the authority structure is different from an analysis of these variables as perceived and as affecting students under study. Indirect factors in our chart refer to those not an immediate part of experimental change. Direct factors are those under change or study. The independent-dependent mode of analysis does not take into account the close interdependency of the direct and indirect independent variables and the students. Acknowledging the "system" properties (changing one part changes all parts, no single part can be isolated from other parts of the system, the whole is


Direct outcome in behavior, conduct (E)
Direct outcome in attitudes, knowledge, values (D)
Indirect outcomes (F)
Students
a
b
Indirect (A)
Direct Program or Independent Variable (B)
Project Staff (C)

not merely the sum of its parts, and so forth) of the forces at work means that we must analyze one part against the background of the whole.

The independent variables may be concerned with the socio-cultural, institutional, group, or personality levels of the teacher-student role; relationships; the school; the community; the culture. In addition, we should include national and world events, the educational content, educational philosophy and methods. As we single out a special program of citizenship education and label this in our chart as the direct program or independent variable (B), we see two channels affecting the students. We need careful designs to be able to isolate the influence of our experimental program. In order to break such embedded networks, several attempts have been made to try to get the students yanked out of their institutional and role encrustations and be a part of a "cultural island"—a specially devised experience suitable for a change. Quaker Work Camps, Encampments for Citizenship, workshops, the laboratory approach reflected in the National Training Laboratory at Bethel, and the Boston University Human Relations Workshop are examples of such efforts. It is pertinent to note that several of these have evaluation staffs and projects connected with their programs. It should be noted, too, that very little attention has been paid to the kinds of students who are part of the programs. What kind would gain more from one program as compared to another program?

Our dependent variables are classified as direct and indirect, also. By direct consequences, we mean those that are outcomes directly related to the program. These variables may be on intrapsychic, interpersonal, group, or institutional levels, such as modifications in knowledge, personality structure, and values; role, and role perceptions; small-group decision and relational skills; or social-system characteristics of the school. In addition, we may choose to emphasize acts, conduct, and behavioral events such as participating in community projects, voting, and other such concrete affairs and activities. Or even, further, we have long-range effects in future situations.

We have a concrete problem of research investigation here. Will change in intrapsychic attitudes, values, or personality struc-

tures be related to acts and events directly? Assuming a simple causal and chronological chain is not warranted. In fact, there are both theoretical justification and empirical evidence that one can change the behavior of individuals without first affecting their attitudes, prejudices, and values through affecting the situations and perceptions of situations in which the people act.

From a practical point of view, many would argue that the "pay-off" comes from changes in acts and events, not merely from changes in attitudes, values, or personality. Some would go further and say that the indirect outcomes are the ultimate pay-off, such as over-all increased community morale, or more effective political processes, or reformed school administration!

Selection of Criterion Variables

The selection of the criterion variables depends upon the uses to which a study is put, of course. We are using the term criterion variable to refer to the selected dependent variable which is accepted as the "pay-off." In all of the following points, it is assumed that there are options and choices open to the investigator and that these choices do not violate any of the requirements of the scientific method. We attempt to spell out one set of values which determines the choices; we assume one guiding set of values to be that research on programs of action should be of relevance to a practitioner.

1. Do not assume unitary and highly correlated variables for such criteria as "group movement," "improvement in therapy," "increased effectiveness," "better mental health." The same point holds for "citizenship." It should not be assumed that the multitude of psychological, sociological, and behavioral events involved are correlated. The problem is one open to empirical investigation.
2. Value judgments about the criterion variables have to be made, and should be made, explicitly. Some sources of validation for such judgments come from the goals and concepts of the profession, sociocultural ethos, the acknowledged requirements of the situation of action, and inferences drawn

from available technical knowledge. One dimension of such value judgments is the question of whether we define citizenship as the absence of known "bad," pathological, or undesirable characteristics, or the presence of some desirable state or gestalt of factors. It is easier, given present knowledge, to define and study the concept in terms of the absence of undesirable traits, such as the lack of authoritarian characteristics.

3. Try to gather information from the subjective ratings of the client-trainee and the program-conductors, as well as the "objective" tests and ratings. Many of the atributes of citizenship are probably subjective.
4. Choose criterion variables on the basis of centrality to other related concepts and avoid trivial criteria whenever possible. For instance, a central criterion not usually listed is learning how to learn to be a good citizen.
5. Make sure that the criterion chosen is accessible to observation and measurement.
6. Do not load the dice against the program of training by choosing ultimate and "perfect state" criterion variables. Be realistic about the "reasonableness of achievement" of the criterion for such a program. Is it reasonable that a one-semester course should change authoritarians into democratic citizens? Or that emotional adjustment should be attained by a social studies curriculum? Or that a fifteen-hour citizenship indoctrination program in the armed forces should protect the men from their enemies' "brainwashing"? We need to set up as the level of the criterion variables reasonable small steps or stages *toward* the ultimate (and unattainable) perfect states.
7. We need to do more examination of the negative or side effects of a program of action. Do people in learning membership roles also develop intolerance toward group decision as well as appreciation? Do citizenship education programs also develop a sentimental sense of sacredness about our social institutions and values which acts as a block against social change and healthy social criticism? Are we also teaching conformity, albeit to our approach or values?
8. We need to choose our variables for maximum significance, generality, and utility for practitioners. Our criteria should be potentially reachable under other leadership, staff persons, or

school situations. We should maximize the available levers of action that are accessible most reasonably in terms of minimum costs and energy required. Pilot studies in citizenship education with large and important goals might seem to say to the schools not included in the original study: "If you want to do what we have accomplished, go get yourself the same size grant from a foundation!" or "hire some of our skilled staff," or "get someone with the personality pattern of our director."

9. Choose on the basis of giving more attention to the more manipulable factors that bring about the desired outcome. For instance, if we suspect both social class and role are involved, choose role as your independent variable, since it can be more readily manipulated. Or choose attitudes as compared to intelligence for your independent variable.
10. Include some laymen's hypotheses and variables. Ask for and test the ideas, notions, hypotheses of teachers and students on "what brings about good citizenship?"
11. Plan for unanticipated consequences in outcome. Use some open-minded questions about outcomes to catch the consequences not originally planned for either by the program or by the evaluators.
12. In interpretation, and possibly in design, minimize the effects of the "placebo effect," or "Hawthorne effect." In your questionnaire or interview, disguise or use indirect tappings of increases of manifestation of citizenship. Or use in questions alternatives which are perceived as equally legitimate and desirable so as to avoid the respondent's giving back what he thinks you want.

Measurement Problems

The first and central issue is the question of defining the variables under study in such a way that some operational coordinates may be found. The Detroit Study laid out three levels to cope with this question: goals, criteria, and manifestations. The manifestations can then be looked for by whatever techniques seem appropriate.

The technical questions of empirical research of reliability and validity are paramount. We shall pass over the issues of reliability

of the measuring instrument, since the technical issues need not concern us at this time except to reiterate the necessity of assessing and reporting the reliability of the measuring instrument being used. The issue of validity (is the instrument measuring what it is purporting to measure?), however, is of more concern. A recent statement by Cronback and Meehl provides some clues for study of aspects of citizenship education. They distinguish four kinds of validity in measurement: predictive, concurrent, content, and construct. It is the last which is of interest to us. They say "construct validation is involved whenever a test is to be interpreted as a measure of some attribute or quality which is not 'operationally defined.'" It is used when the tester has no definite measure of the quality with which he is concerned and must use indirect measures. They point significantly to personality tests and some tests of ability as instances where construct validity needs to be employed. They make these points:

1. A construct is defined implicitly by a network of associations or propositions in which it occurs. Constructs employed at different stages of research vary in definitions.
2. Construct validation is possible only when some of the statements in the network lead to predicted relations among observables.
3. The network defining the construct, and the derivation leading to the predicted observation, must be reasonably explicit so that validating evidence may be properly interpreted.

Difficult as this process of theory-building and hypothesis-deriving may be, it seems the most fruitful, if not the only possible, way to engage in research on citizenship education. Measurement then becomes a matter of establishing the reliability of the procedure to tap the attitudes and values or actions and conduct of the youth.

Implications

In surveying the uses to which research on programs of action may be put, the direct and indirect independent and dependent

APPENDIX

Chart for Locating Design and Utility Factors According to Research Use

	1 EVALUATIVE RESEARCH Assessing Effectiveness of a Program	2 PREDICTIVE RESEARCH For Making Decision	3 TECHNIQUE RESEARCH Testing a Method	4 ACTION RESEARCH Affecting Conduct	5 PRACTITIONER THEORY RESEARCH Building Practitioner Basic Science	6 SCIENCE BUILDING RESEARCH Building, Testing General Basic Social Science
A. Design and Research						
1. Criterion or Dependent Variables	Program sponsors' goals	Predictive value	Preselected pay-off variable	Actions, reactions of conductor	Based on theory, hypotheses, options	Based on theory, hypotheses, options
2. Independent Variables	Descriptive program	Not relevant, correlates	Method Treatment	Unknown	Theory and levers of action	Theory
3. a. Design Model	Post reactions, prepost	Statistical, correlational	Experimental manipulation	Unknown	Full range of models	Full range of models
3. b. Uncontrolled Factors Inherent	Great	Great	Slight	Great	Varies according to design	Slight
3. c. Attention to Characteristics of Persons in Programs	Slight	Great	Slight	Great	Great	Moderate
B. Utility to Practitioner						
1. Explanation and Understanding	None	None	Slight	None	Great	Moderate
2. Generality	None	Slight	Moderate	Slight	Great	Great
3. Action Levers Exposed	Slight	Moderate	Great	Slight	Great	Slight to moderate

variables, the guide points and dimensions for selecting criterion variables, and the use of construct validity, we have tried to show the options and choices that need to be made. My orientation basically is from the standpoint of one who believes that a basic science of social practice is possible and desirable. Running through this chapter is a call for more conceptualizing and theorizing about citizenship education and forces involved in increasing citizenship levels. Empirical designs, research, and measurement procedures can be fruitful only if a certain amount of conceptualizing is done. These points may be made in summary:

1. A research program needs to define its primary goal or multiple goals.

2. A multitrack research program is more feasible and meaningful for the variety of interests to be served.

3. Direct attention to conceptualizing and theorizing about the phenomena is essential. As a beginning, one may borrow conceptual models to apply to citizenship education programs; for instance, a force-field analysis of resistance and forces toward change, a social-learning reinforcement theory, a social-role descriptive theory, a personality-development model, or an intergroup, adolescents-versus-adult model.

4. Select the criterion or pay-off variables so as to maximize the contributions to practitioners.

5. Analyze the problems of role relationships between a practitioner conducting a program and a research team working on the same program.

NOTES

1. I. Chein, S. Cook and J. Harding, "The Field of Action Research." *American Psychologist*, 3: 43-50, 1948.

2. H. W. Riecken, Jr., *Volunteer Work Camp: A Psychological Evaluation*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1952.

3. H. H. Hyman and C. R. Wright, *Youth in Transition: An Evaluation of the Contribution of the Encampment for Citizenship to the Education of Youth*. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1956. (Mimeographed)

4. H. E. Kagan, *Changing the Attitude of Christian Toward Jew: A Psychological Approach Through Religion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

5. Pearl P. Rosenberg, "An Experimental Analysis of Psycho-drama." *Human Relations*, 6, 1953.

6. F. K. Patterson, editor, "Youth as Citizens: A Study of Adolescent Self-direction and Social Responsibility." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 30: 41-112, 1956.

7. E. Powers and H. L. Witmer, *An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency: The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

8. S. E. Dimond, *Schools and the Development of Good Citizens: The Final Report of the Citizenship Education Study*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953.

9. S. M. Corey, *Action Research to Improve School Practices* (Publication of the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation). New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953.

10. R. Lippitt, J. Watson, and B. Westley, *The Dynamics of Planned Change*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1958.

11. C. I. Hovland, A. Lumsdaine, and F. Sheffield, *Experiments on Mass Communication* (Volume 3 of Studies in Social Psychology During World War II). Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949.

12. L. Bradford, editor, *Theory of T–Group Training*. Bethel, Maine: National Training Laboratory, 1958.

NEW PERSPECTIVES FOR RESEARCH AND ACTION

CHAPTER TEN

A Psychologist Speculates About New Perspectives

NEVITT SANFORD

I WOULD LIKE TO START WITH A CONCEPTUAL SCHEME. The one to be offered is very crude and very general, but we have found it useful in our studies of college education,* and it may help to organize the discussion here. One may think of a college or a high school as being analogous to a *productive institution*. The students enter the institution, there to be shaped or molded or modified or developed in accordance with someone's conception of what is desired in the product. Thus we might well discuss the kinds of objectives, or the desirable qualities of the products, that we or other people cherish. We might discuss the characteristics

*Dr. Sanford makes frequent reference in these pages to the research on the impact of a college program on student personality that he directed under the Mellon Program at Vassar College. He also refers to his observations of Russian education and youth development made during a study tour of the Soviet Union and other eastern European countries in the fall of 1958.—*Ed.*

of the entering students, particularly their potentialities for, and their resistance to, the kinds of changes that are desired; and then we might discuss the institutional processes which are intended to influence the students in the desired way.

Richard Jung has proposed that we think of a college or a school as an *ejective channel*. This conception includes the notion of an optimum time for remaining in the channel. If the student leaves the channel too early, before certain developmental processes have been concluded, the effects may be harmful; and similarly, if the student remains in the channel too long, it is not only that time might be wasted but that adaptations to the channel might occur which would be dysfunctional in later life.

This conception would apply not only to the college and to the school but to all kinds of institutions and agencies that have as their objective the modification of people in some desired way. It would hold for training programs, prisons, hospitals, psychotherapy, and perhaps upbringing in the family. One of the great advantages of a conception as abstract as this is that it enables one to compare the institution in which he is particularly interested, say the school or the summer camp, with a variety of other institutions, and thus to gain a fresh perspective on the object of his first interest. The use of such a scheme also permits us to see that all social scientists whose work is concerned with ejective channels are allies from whom we may learn something, even though they have never thought of themselves as being involved in education for citizenship.

Following this general scheme, then, I propose to say something about (*a*) objectives, (*b*) the entering student, and (*c*) processes by which desired qualities might be developed.

Objectives

This topic covers a great deal of territory indeed, and I imagine that we shall be coming back to it again and again. I want here to make just two points. The first is that objectives should be considered as relative to time and to place. The objectives of citizenship education will vary from one society to another, de-

pending on the situation of the society and upon its stage of development. In underdeveloped societies today, for example, the accent is likely to be on material productivity, and hence the aims of education are likely to accent those qualities in the individual which are most favorable to productivity. Such societies are likely to accent the development of skills and to speed up the processes whereby the individual takes a useful place in society. The contrast, of course, is with an affluent society such as ours, where education often takes the form of preparation for consumption—that is to say, the development of tastes and values which would permit the individual to participate most fully in the benefits of a higher standard of living. Older, stable societies emphasize knowledge for its own sake or regard it as a symbol of higher caste, whereas rapidly changing societies offer the individual education as a means for going up in the world.

As I think I have pointed out elsewhere in a paper on Russia, the Soviets have the great benefit of a national concern with production, so that young people feel useful and can see immediately their place in the society. Our problem in this country seems to have much to do with the fact that young people are not needed and are constantly being reminded that they will not be needed for quite a while. They are supposed to have fun. When we think of doing something for youth, one of the first proposals is likely to be a new recreation center—something that might promise to keep them out of trouble. If we were as concerned about production as the Russians are, we would undoubtedly think of constructive projects that would contribute to the total economy, even as it gave the young people a sense of participation in society.

The second point that I want to make about objectives is that we have to consider different levels of attainment. We should, in any case, separate in our thinking the ideal, or the maximum attainable, from the minimum for which we would settle. Thus in considering education for citizenship, it is one thing to think of a program that would prevent everybody from stealing or a program that would interest everyone in voting; and it is quite a different matter to conceive of how we would develop everyone to a place at which he could criticize society while at the same time contributing creatively to it. A program designed for the attainment

of lower-level objectives might be quite useless or even dysfunctional with respect to attainment of higher-level objectives. Similarly, a program designed with ideal development in mind might actually bring a few individuals up to a very high level, while offering little or nothing to the great majority. One way of looking at the Russian program suggests that it works very well in bringing everyone up to a certain level of citizenship behavior, but that it would seem a very dubious proceeding indeed where the objective was the fullest possible development of each individual. The Russians, of course, would not agree, arguing that their system is best for developing the individual, as well as best for everything else.

The Entering Student

I suppose a full discussion of students entering school would lead us to accent the diversity among them and the complexity within them. Since eighty-nine and five-tenths per cent of our young people enter high school, there is no doubt that they differ among themselves markedly and in many ways. Similarly, a study of any individual soon shows that he is possessed of numerous parts or features which are organized in a unique way.

It seems to me that if we are to consider programs for citizenship education, we have to pay first attention to the ways in which students entering high school are similar. We have to have conceptions of parts or features that are present in everyone and that are susceptible to change under the influence of educational programs. In short, we have to have a theory of personality.

In American education two different conceptions of the student have been competing for a long time, each conception determining educational policies and practices. One conception, best represented perhaps by psychoanalysis, accents the early determination of personality dispositions and supposes that these are merely played out in adolescence and in later stages of life. The progressive educational theory, which proceeds from this conception of the individual, accents freedom of choice and the offering of opportunities by which the individual can follow his bent or develop in the

direction that he has already taken. The contrasting conception is of a more pliable adolescent, one in whose life contemporary events can make a big difference or bring about profound changes of direction. This conception is in accordance with those schools of thought in psychology that accent cognitive processes and the contemporary situation of the individual as the important determinants of behavior. The educational doctrine that accords with this type of psychological theory is that the individual should be brought up in the way that he should go and that, since what he is taught can still make a big difference in his life, the educator has the responsibility for teaching the right things. The adolescent, according to this view, is in no position to decide what he is going to do or to be. It is up to the educator to teach him what values to have and what to be interested in. In this sense, the Russians and the conservative American educators belong together.

It may be possible to resolve the differences just described by considering that some parts of personality are more susceptible to change than others, and that different features change in accordance with different conditions and different processes. In our studies of college students, we have observed much change during the four college years, but we have also observed a great deal of fixity. Our continuing task is to explain the change and to explain the fixity, and this means that we have to go rather deeply into personality theory.

Processes of Change

I pass on to the consideration of growth and development in educational institutions. I am trying to lay some groundwork for a consideration of how it is that practices undertaken by the school or college can actually induce desired changes in individuals.

It is advantageous to consider growth and development in very abstract terms. Let growth mean expansion—that is to say, increase in the size of parts and in the number of parts or units; let development mean increasing complexity—that is to say, increase in the number of different parts having special functions, and in the kinds of relationships among parts. Growth and development

conceived in this way can be applied to anything. We can think in the same way of the growth of a plant, of a city, or of an institution. By thinking in this way, we free ourselves from the notion of biological maturation as a basic correlate of personality development. In theory, according to the present view, people can keep on growing and developing indefinitely. We do not have to consider that an individual is grown or mature when all of his parts have matured biologically and are ready to function. We may consider, instead, that personalities may go on expanding and increasing in complexity so long as the conditions for these changes are present; and, so far as we know, these conditions may be introduced at any time in the individual's life.

The fundamental principle of growth and development is that of "challenge and response." The individual changes or learns or develops when stimuli are introduced that upset his equilibrium. He adapts to the strain thus imposed by learning or changing himself, and he thus restores equilibrium; but this equilibrium is not the same that he enjoyed before. It is, instead, on a higher level. This view is to be contrasted with certain theories that accent "natural growth"—that is, the idea that the individual grows in accordance with some inner urge so long as he is more or less protected and comfortable. Our interpretation of events observed at the college level is that under conditions of comfort and protection the inclination to go on using old responses is very strong. One might say that it is natural to grow, but it is also natural to stand still. It seems that if growth is to occur at the college level (and perhaps this is also true of the high school level) something has to happen to make it occur. We have to introduce stimuli which challenge the individual to make new responses and thus to expand his personality. This point of view seems to be in accordance with that of most educators; but it tends to be opposed by parents and many psychotherapists, who, far from thinking of ways to upset young people, are rather on the lookout for ways to calm them down. Of course it must be added that the kind of strain that can induce growth or development must be one which does not exceed certain limits. Undoubtedly, strains which are too severe will force the individual to fall back on earlier or more primitive responses and will lead to no gain at all. Whereas I

should not like to underestimate the number of young people who are not growing because they have to deal with strains beyond their adaptive capacities, I should not want our preoccupation with maladjustment to blind us to the fundamental principle of growth and development, which is that of challenge and response.

Sequences of Development

In the development of personality, it seems, certain things have to happen before other things are possible. This is clear enough when we think of psychological changes that are correlated with physiological ones. In Freud's conception of psychosexual stages of development, the sequence of psychological events that could be observed was determined by the onset of certain physiological changes. When we go beyond the stages of psychosexual development or beyond the time when gross physiological changes seem to be of great importance—after, say, eighteen, but before senescence—then we have to account for growth and development mainly by reference to stimuli coming from outside the individual. Here the universality of stages of development seems rather doubtful. The regularities that we may observe seem to depend on culture. In our culture, there are times for entering college, for becoming independent of parents, for getting a job, for being married, and so on. Naturally, the sequence in which certain kinds of things in the person may be observed shows some accord with the timing of these major events in the life of the individual. But I suggest that in the realm of purely psychological development, we should not expect to find any unfolding process according to which the individual passes from lower to higher orders of development, nor should we expect to find much uniformity with respect to the timing of developmental spurts. I would accent, rather, the openness of the individual to diverse possibilities, depending upon the kinds of circumstances that intervene.

I recently talked with a young woman who had graduated from Vassar in 1953 and whom we had known at that time. She was rather unprepared academically for Vassar and suffered all through college from the competition that she encountered. She

barely held her own, suffered from feelings of guilt and inferiority, and was rather withdrawn socially. Shortly after graduation, she married and joined the college club of her town. This club undertook to represent the serious interests of its members. They would give papers on more or less intellectual topics and discuss them at their meetings. In this club, our young woman found that she could more than hold her own; indeed, since almost all the other members had graduated from colleges having less high standards than Vassar, she soon gained a sense of considerable confidence and poise. In a little while she was the acknowledged leader of the club; and in a little while longer she was a leader in a larger sphere. She found that she enjoyed this role, and when the opportunity came to be reunion chairman for her class, she accepted and was now enjoying performing in this role. What I want to suggest is that there was probably very little in the way of a disposition to be a leader in this young woman during her adolescence. This was not, so to speak, her destiny. Rather, it became possible because of her experience of the competition at Vassar and of the situation of belonging to the college club. Had it not been for these largely fortuitous circumstances, it seems very likely that she would have settled for some quite different pattern of self-realization.

My dubiousness with respect to the conception of stages through which the individual passes with some regularity does not lead me to de-emphasize the importance of the notion that the response to a new stimulus depends upon the conditions that are present when that stimulus arrives. We know very well that it is no good planning enriching experiences for young people if, for some reason or another, these young people are not open to that kind of experience. In discussions with young women of the Vassar class of 1954, I was struck by how much a number of them had developed personally as a result of marriage and motherhood. These experiences had most certainly changed the personalities of these young women. Having babies changed their conceptions of themselves; and these changed conceptions of themselves led to changed conceptions of their parents. Different conceptions of parents meant different behavior in relation to them; and this meant changed perspectives all along the line. I would suggest that marriage and motherhood are precisely the

kinds of experiences which generate strains, the adaptation to which leads to growth and development in the personality; but I would not recommend that these growth-inducing stimuli could be successfully applied at any time. It does not follow that seventeen-year-old girls ought to have the benefits of these stimuli! The capacity of these events to induce growth and development would seem to depend heavily on the capacity of the individual to assimilate these new experiences. It seems pretty obvious that marriage and motherhood are much more meaningful events for college graduates than for high school girls.

The Continuity of Development

Of course, this accent on the individual's openness to change at any time, and upon the potency of outside stimuli judiciously applied, does not by any means rule out the notion that development is continuous—that is to say, that what happens to the individual now has some continuity with what has happened in the past. One might say that in adapting to new conditions the individual tries to go on being himself. He tries to adapt in the way that is consistent with himself. A measure of the adequacy of the adaptation would be how much is determined by what the individual already is and how much is determined by the circumstances of the moment. Thus in explaining behavior, we make some reference to dispositions already present in the subject and some reference to the contemporary situation. I think we may handle the matter by saying that dispositions determined early in the individual's life set the general direction of growth and development, but that later on the individual comes to various partings of the way. There will be changes of direction that are highly significant for the later life of the individual, but which nonetheless have the same general direction as the early disposition.

Consider an example. One of our subjects at Vassar presented as a freshman a picture of rather extreme conventionality and orientation to the peer culture. She came from an authoritarian home and gave every indication that she would develop in a way that was quite consistent with this background. We were thus

surprised to note, when she was a junior, that she had developed a deep interest in political science—international relations, especially—and had realistic plans for doing graduate work in this field. Our first step in seeking an explanation of this change was to ask this subject what had happened. She gave all the credit to one of her teachers, a teacher of international relations. He had simply inspired her, or something had happened so that he became a suitable model for her future life. Now granting that this man was a very inspiring teacher, we should not suppose that he could have such an effect upon every student. Naturally we sought in the history of our subject something that would help explain what had happened. It turned out that as a matter of fact she was not a typically conventional, peer-oriented girl even in high school. At that time she developed a warm relationship with a boy from the other side of the tracks—a foreigner, so to speak. Both her parents and her high school club sisters were upset by this and threatened serious consequences if she persisted in the relationship. But she did persist and actually suffered ejection from her club on that account. One could undoubtedly go farther back into her childhood history and there discover something that disposed our subject to an interest in the strange, the international, or foreign. But it would be as absurd to suppose that an infantile experience of some kind could determine an adult interest in international relations as it would be to suppose than any teacher could arouse such an interest in all of his students. Any childhood disposition that could help determine an interest in the study of international relations could help determine a variety of other things as well. All the same, we may say that our subject's new interest as a college junior, something which will undoubtedly change her life, was in the same general direction as some of her major childhood and adolescent dispositions.

Overdetermination

When we think of the role of the original disposition in a case such as that just described, we are reminded of Allport's conception of "functional autonomy." Allport would say, of course,

that our subject's interest in international relations becomes functionally autonomous. I suggest that overdetermination is a better conception. An activity such as the study of international relations becomes a means for the satisfaction of a variety of needs, including, as likely as not, the original infantile ones. The activity is overdetermined in the sense that it may be evoked by a variety of tendencies, which may be relatively late or relatively early acquisitions of the personality. Consider the case of a Vassar graduate who recently finished medical school. She was a second-generation American and her father's daughter—an only child. Perceiving early in her school years that she had unusual ability, the father began to imagine that she might go quite far. Finding that she could please him by bringing home good grades, our subject began to show even more marked signs of scholarly potential. This caused the father to raise his sights, and during our subject's high school years he began to talk with her about going to medical school. This was all right with her, and her career at Vassar was strictly a preparation for the medical studies which were to come. The subject now makes it quite clear that medical school was her father's idea and not hers, but she says that she "loved every minute of it" and now finds it impossible to conceive of herself as anything but a doctor. There is no question that being a doctor is now an end in itself. But there is also no question that the taking of this role is the means for satisfying a great variety of needs, including ones that did not exist until the role was assumed. It also seems clear that the taking of this role may be a channel for the expression of a variety of infantile needs, including the original need to have the love and approval of her father.

So it is, I would suggest, in the building of scholarly interests generally and in the building of those high-order and more complicated motives that enter into good citizenship. The deeper motives serve to keep the individual in a situation in which he is exposed to the field of interest which will later become his. The wise educator will, I think, utilize to the full this piece of psychology. He will not be too particular about what motives induced a subject to want to do well or to imagine himself functioning at a higher level in some field; he will use these motives as the basis for an expansion of interest in the field itself. Teachers frequently

act as if they had to appeal to the superego in inducing students to be serious about their work. They cannot forbear to moralize with the student, insisting that he just *ought* to do this or that. The wonderful fact is that the true ally of the teacher is not the superego, but the id. Intellectual life and performance at high levels in the professions offer the best chance for the expression of infantile impulses. We should think of these high-level performances as we do of art, in which there is an elegant balance of the highest and the lowest in human nature. The real justification, then, for the teacher's hammering away on the fundamentals of his discipline is that he is offering the student a means of freeing his imagination, and it is the free imagination alone which offers a means for gratifying "insatiable" infantile needs.

Mechanisms of Change

In thinking about the mechanisms by which personality develops, or by which we might induce further development in personality, we do well, I believe, to consider psychotherapy on the *one hand and education on the other. These two do not differ in* their general aims; both seek to promote growth and development. But they differ in their general strategy and in their general techniques.

In respect to general strategy, the psychotherapeutic or mental-hygiene philosophy seems to say that we must diagnose and change complexes or neurotic tendencies before learning can occur. Education, on the other hand, seeks to expand the personality right now, without waiting for anything else to happen, by addressing itself to those parts of the personality that are free or relatively free from unconscious resistance.

In respect to technique, education is directed almost always to the group; it proceeds on the basis of assumptions concerning what favors development in general. It may not touch at all some structures in some cases, but it has at least the possibility of modifying some structures in all cases. Psychotherapy proceeds on the basis of a diagnostic study of the *individual; that is to say, an* assessment of his developmental status, with particular attention

to potentialities for, and obstacles to, further growth. It then addresses itself to the obstacles. Of course psychotherapeutic techniques include much that could as well be offered in ordinary educational settings—giving advice, providing direction, offering support, letting the subject talk about himself. The crucial difference in technique between education and psychotherapy concerns the way in which the subject's transference, to the therapist or to the teacher, of his early forms of relations to people is handled. In psychotherapy, this transference is interpreted, and this is the high road to that self-understanding that can change internal organization. In education, the transference is in no case interpreted. It is used, instead, for motivation and inspiration.

Thus psychologies that accent early determination and fixity in the personality, for example, psychoanalysis and certain kinds of behavior theory, regard change in the personality as a difficult matter. In psychoanalysis, change of any importance is essentially a matter of making the unconscious, conscious. Behavior theory would have us undertake a vigorous deconditioning, once the secondary reinforcers have been found.

Lawrence Kubie has written persuasively about the application of the psychoanalytic point of view to education. He has argued that the fundamental distinction between health and neurosis lies in the fact that in all neurotic behavior there is some unconscious determination. His proposal to teachers is that they must find ways to give students self-knowledge in depth, to give them the means by which those areas of functioning that are dominated by unconscious processes may be reduced. He does not say precisely how this is to be done, but his writings suggest group psychotherapy, counseling, courses in depth psychology, and the like.

Academic psychology, on the other hand, stresses the point that people can learn from experience, that they will make new responses when forced to take new social roles, and that there will be cognitive restructuring in the face of new stimuli. These are things, one might suppose, that can go on happening in people who have been psychoanalyzed. But learning of this kind is not possible if the person in question is prevented by repression from having the experience that is calculated to teach him something. It seems clear that all kinds of fine educational measures are lost

on some students, but it is also clear that some students gain through education some things which the psychotherapist might suppose could only be gained from psychotherapy.

The crucial question is: how much of the personality is dominated by unconscious processes? In this respect we may note wide variations among college students. Education, disregarding unconscious processes, goes on its way trying to expand those parts of the personality that are not dominated by unconscious processes. And frequently, it seems to me, it has considerable success. In the early days of our work at Vassar we presented to a conference of psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists the case of a freshman whom we had tested and interviewed rather intensively. We presented the raw material, thinking it would be interesting to the conferees to work out a formulation of the case. There was much discussion of this girl's difficulties with a domineering mother, her neurotically determined achievement drive, her latent homosexuality, her problems of achieving a satisfactory sex identity, and so on. There was some basis for all these concerns. But the fact of the matter was that we had presented this case as an example of an outstandingly promising freshman. As far as the college was concerned, the promise was fulfilled. This girl found satisfactory membership in a group of dissident intellectuals, was inspired by some of her teachers, and went on to make Phi Beta Kappa. She was engaged to a graduate student in physics at the beginning of her senior year and married immediately after graduation. She will probably support him while he finishes his education, have four or five babies while striving to maintain her intellectual interests, and when the children are all in school undertake some semiprofessional activity of her own. What has happened to her complexes and neurotic tendencies? Quite possibly a personality assessment of this subject right now would reveal that they are still there; but one would be justified in asking how important they are.

A nice question would be: how does one tell the difference between a case of this kind, in which personality development could occur despite, or perhaps to some extent because of, unconscious complexes, and on the other hand, a case in which the ego is so taken up with maintaining defenses that no energy is

available for learning through experience? I believe that we can learn to make this differential diagnosis.

The point I want to stress is that with people in the high school and college age range, it is easy to overestimate the neurotic element and to underestimate what can be gained through the ordinary experiences of education and living. One might say that, in the absence of a clear diagnosis, one might safely give education a chance. In the case of college students, I would have no hesitation in saying that if a student is open to what the curriculum has to offer, one could leave him alone for quite a while—that is, not insist upon psychotherapy—without endangering that student's future. If the motivation for academic work is neurotic, as it often is, the thing to do is to exploit that motivation for scholarly purposes rather than to undertake its analysis right away. I am not saying that the neurosis would disappear under these conditions, but I am saying that the personality would expand so that the neurotic aspect would become less pronounced and more susceptible to change.

This poses an interesting theoretical question. Suppose we go on expanding the conscious ego through those experiences which can be supplied in normal life. Do we begin in time to modify the unconscious structures? One may certainly say that as the conscious ego expands, the unconscious structures shrink in relative importance. Consider the case of the girl who became a doctor. I would say that her father-complex had less importance in the personality of this young physician than it did in the personality of the school girl that she was. I would go further and suggest that as the conscious part of personality expands, the unconscious part may actually be modified. As the ego becomes stronger, the possibilities of greater self-awareness increase. This, of course, is the fundamental assumption underlying psychotherapy itself. There are many occasions and situations outside of psychotherapy which invite consideration of one's own processes. There seems to me reason to believe that the individual with the highly developed ego may take advantage of these to gain awareness of, and so to modify, some of his unconscious structures.

In summary, I am saying that there are two major ways of promoting development in the individual. One is expanding the

on some students, but it is also clear that some students gain through education some things which the psychotherapist might suppose could only be gained from psychotherapy.

The crucial question is: how much of the personality is dominated by unconscious processes? In this respect we may note wide variations among college students. Education, disregarding unconscious processes, goes on its way trying to expand those parts of the personality that are not dominated by unconscious processes. And frequently, it seems to me, it has considerable success. In the early days of our work at Vassar we presented to a conference of psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists the case of a freshman whom we had tested and interviewed rather intensively. We presented the raw material, thinking it would be interesting to the conferees to work out a formulation of the case. There was much discussion of this girl's difficulties with a domineering mother, her neurotically determined achievement drive, her latent homosexuality, her problems of achieving a satisfactory sex identity, and so on. There was some basis for all these concerns. But the fact of the matter was that we had presented this case as an example of an outstandingly promising freshman. As far as the college was concerned, the promise was fulfilled. This girl found satisfactory membership in a group of dissident intellectuals, was inspired by some of her teachers, and went on to make Phi Beta Kappa. She was engaged to a graduate student in physics at the beginning of her senior year and married immediately after graduation. She will probably support him while he finishes his education, have four or five babies while striving to maintain her intellectual interests, and when the children are all in school undertake some semiprofessional activity of her own. What has happened to her complexes and neurotic tendencies? Quite possibly a personality assessment of this subject right now would reveal that they are still there; but one would be justified in asking how important they are.

A nice question would be: how does one tell the difference between a case of this kind, in which personality development could occur despite, or perhaps to some extent because of, unconscious complexes, and on the other hand, a case in which the ego is so taken up with maintaining defenses that no energy is

available for learning through experience? I believe that we can learn to make this differential diagnosis.

The point I want to stress is that with people in the high school and college age range, it is easy to overestimate the neurotic element and to underestimate what can be gained through the ordinary experiences of education and living. One might say that, in the absence of a clear diagnosis, one might safely give education a chance. In the case of college students, I would have no hesitation in saying that if a student is open to what the curriculum has to offer, one could leave him alone for quite a while—that is, not insist upon psychotherapy—without endangering that student's future. If the motivation for academic work is neurotic, as it often is, the thing to do is to exploit that motivation for scholarly purposes rather than to undertake its analysis right away. I am not saying that the neurosis would disappear under these conditions, but I am saying that the personality would expand so that the neurotic aspect would become less pronounced and more susceptible to change.

This poses an interesting theoretical question. Suppose we go on expanding the conscious ego through those experiences which can be supplied in normal life. Do we begin in time to modify the unconscious structures? One may certainly say that as the conscious ego expands, the unconscious structures shrink in relative importance. Consider the case of the girl who became a doctor. I would say that her father-complex had less importance in the personality of this young physician than it did in the personality of the school girl that she was. I would go further and suggest that as the conscious part of personality expands, the unconscious part may actually be modified. As the ego becomes stronger, the possibilities of greater self-awareness increase. This, of course, is the fundamental assumption underlying psychotherapy itself. There are many occasions and situations outside of psychotherapy which invite consideration of one's own processes. There seems to me reason to believe that the individual with the highly developed ego may take advantage of these to gain awareness of, and so to modify, some of his unconscious structures.

In summary, I am saying that there are two major ways of promoting development in the individual. One is expanding the

personality through learning in natural situations; and the other is making the unconscious, conscious. Whereas the former is the stock in trade of education, it is not to be denied that education may also take steps to further the latter. There are kinds of teaching—for example, the effort in literature courses to make subjects aware of the variety of human experience and motivation —that are well calculated to shrink the areas of unconsciousness. Education that attempts this sort of thing does not become psychotherapy as I have conceived it. It would still not undertake the interpretation of transference or of resistance, and it is this, as I see it, which is the distinguishing characteristic of psychotherapy.

Institutional Processes

What I have been trying to do is to suggest some of the personality mechanisms upon which our efforts deliberately to induce development in the individual must be based. I want to conclude now with a strong plea for action research. I believe we already have some notions of what to do that might improve citizenship education in our high schools. I say, let us do these things; and in doing them let us study, by the best scientific methods, the effects of what we do. When I say action research, what I have in mind is the fact that research with human beings, singly or in groups, if it is important, is bound to have consequences; and hence we engage in action research willy-nilly. When we study individuals by means of special diagnostic techniques, including interviews, it should go without saying that these individuals change as a result of being studied. We as researchers have to accept the responsibility for these changes and do what we can to ensure that they are for the best. Actually, we do not have to worry too much, because the evidence is that being interviewed over a period of time is indeed good for students. It makes them consider things that would not otherwise have been considered. It induces them to confront issues in a more conscious way, and thus it expands the ego.

When it comes to the group, our procedure should be to arrange conditions and institute processes which, according to our hypotheses, will induce desirable developments in the group generally. This is not the place to propose anything concrete, but I suggest that we try some ways of giving high school students the benefits of participation in group enterprises which seem to them, and which indeed are, important and worthy. Of course in doing this kind of thing, we should ask Dr. Chin* to guide us in the working out of adequate research designs.

---

*See Chapter Thirteen, presented at the Andover Conference by Dr. Chin.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER ELEVEN

A Sociologist Suggests New Perspectives

JAMES S. COLEMAN

USUALLY, WHEN I FIND MYSELF FACED WITH A PROBLEM, I feel an easy confidence that energy and ideas, applied long enough and strong enough, will overcome the problem. But I face simple problems, research problems. Here is a problem—the problem of how to bring children into adulthood in America—which is not so simple, and leaves me not so confident.

What is the situation in which we find ourselves with respect to citizenship education? To compress and oversimplify, here are the points that over and over again impressed themselves upon me as I read the background papers.*

1. The academic approach, which teaches citizenship in the classroom as something to be learned, much as any other subject,

*Dr. Coleman refers to the papers prepared for the Andover Conference and included in this volume in the sections on backgrounds of practice and research.—*Ed.*

appears singularly ineffective—and most of all with the students *who need it most, for these are the same students who don't* learn any subject well. The few glimmers of hope in this approach seem to be in the teaching of history and anthropology, which apparently act to broaden the perspectives with which people view events. Yet it's still the good students' perspectives which tend to be broadened most, thus widening the gap which already exists between them and their slower-learning fellows.

2. Attempts at introducing civic responsibility through student government and the like are generally ineffective, because student councils seldom have any real authority—and usually know it. Furthermore, any sense of responsibility and citizenship they teach is again to those who need it least, the elected *representatives, who, by the very fact of their election, have* apparently exhibited a high degree of citizenship in the past. So this is carrying coals to Newcastle, and very few coals at that.
3. Attempts at civic participation and community projects seem to fail for another reason: not because they are ineffective when carried out, but because they are seldom carried out. They seem to require an uncommon commitment and energy *on the part of a teacher. It is hard to conceive of such projects'* being introduced as a standard part of a public school without becoming perverted or diluted in the process.
4. Merit systems, standards of conduct, and the like laid down by school authorities seem to work only for the docile; and for whomever they work, it is questionable whether they aid or impair citizenship education. They are most characterized not by merits and rewards, but by demerits and punishments; taken *to the extreme, they remind a casual observer of the authori*tarian regime of a prison. (In one school that I am at present studying, for example, there is a favored group of boys called by both teachers and students the "brownies." They are viewed by the other students with the same mixture of respect and disdain as the trusties in a prison are viewed by their fellow prisoners.)

Putting all these results together, it seems that nothing works in citizenship education: that the task is a hopeless one. Yet there are some curiously contradictory results which should make us feel

less distressed about the job that is now being done. To look for a moment at studies of public opinion, if there is one most powerful generalization that crops up over and over again in these studies it is the effect of *education* on opinions about public affairs and politics. For example, the National Opinion Research Center from 1944 to 1956 did surveys of attitudes toward U. S. foreign policy and toward world events. After trying in the early surveys to find background factors which would explain differences in opinion, they came to use education, and only education, as the crucial factor, for it dwarfed all others in the relation it had to attitudes. Similarly, in studies of response to McCarthy a few years back, one of the most crucial factors related to an anti-McCarthy attitude that surveys could find was a person's education.

Such results should make us feel a little better; but they do not make the dismal array of facts presented above much more palatable. The point remains that by all direct measurements that we can carry out, citizenship education of almost every sort is ineffective. Now what I want to do is to raise questions about the ways we try to teach citizenship and to suggest ideas about how we might change them. But rather than going back to these ways which have worked so poorly and examining each in turn, I want to back off somewhat for a more fundamental view—a view of the general problem that societies have in educating their young and the special complications to this problem in our present society.

Educating the young is probably the second most fundamental problem which any society faces—second only to the problem of controlling its members and carrying out actions as a society. It is fundamental because it consists of taking a mass of animals—the untamed infants—and making of them members of society.

I would suggest, for reasons that will soon become apparent, that our society is doing, with every passing decade, a poorer job in handling this fundamental problem and, in particular, the parts of this problem which are in the area of citizenship and social responsibility. Do I mean that our schools are getting worse all the time? No—to the contrary. What I mean is that the problem is becoming with each passing decade a more and more complex one, outdistancing the feeble steps we make toward improving our

methods. Now I will say *why* the problem is getting rapidly more complex. At first glance, this problem of making children into members of society seems much the same in every society. Yet the problem is *faced* very differently in different societies; and I think if we look closely, we see that it is in fact a very different problem in different societies.

Take at one extreme a stable society, focused around the home and family as the unit of production—a stable farming society will do as an example. In such a society, it is clear that the child can learn all he needs to know very directly at the hand of his father; he can take on responsibilities in slow stages, and he can learn by direct observation how to relate to the world outside his family. The task of education in such a stable, localized, and personalized society—which is not long past in our country—is a simple one and is carried out as part of the same "natural process" by which a parent teaches his child to walk or to talk.

This is not to say that in such a society the education a child receives is the "best of all educations in that best of all possible worlds." It is often, in fact, far from it, for each child is at the mercy of his parents; and if his parents are ne'er-do-wells or criminals or the like, the "natural processes" by which they indoctrinate or socialize him makes him a ne'er-do-well or a criminal. Nevertheless, for good or ill, the problem is handled as naturally within the family as is the problem of teaching a child to walk or to talk.

Near the other extreme stands our present society—rapidly changing, cosmopolitan, with highly rationalized industry. First of all, jobs can no longer be taught by the father. He is often obsolescent, and even when he is not, he works away from home under conditions in which it is inconceivable that he might delegate some responsibility to his son, might give him "on-the-job" training and slow, "natural" steps to adulthood. The child can no longer help the family economically; and in turn the family has nothing to offer the child in training for his place in the community. Thus jobs, and skills for jobs, must be taught by some institution outside the family, the school. But this is only one point; another is that the period of training is *longer*. With every decade, more of the jobs available in our society require a high level of training. As

less distressed about the job that is now being done. To look for a moment at studies of public opinion, if there is one most powerful generalization that crops up over and over again in these studies it is the effect of *education* on opinions about public affairs and politics. For example, the National Opinion Research Center from 1944 to 1956 did surveys of attitudes toward U. S. foreign policy and toward world events. After trying in the early surveys to find background factors which would explain differences in opinion, they came to use education, and only education, as the crucial factor, for it dwarfed all others in the relation it had to attitudes. Similarly, in studies of response to McCarthy a few years back, one of the most crucial factors related to an anti-McCarthy attitude that surveys could find was a person's education.

Such results should make us feel a little better; but they do not make the dismal array of facts presented above much more palatable. The point remains that by all direct measurements that we can carry out, citizenship education of almost every sort is ineffective. Now what I want to do is to raise questions about the ways we try to teach citizenship and to suggest ideas about how we might change them. But rather than going back to these ways which have worked so poorly and examining each in turn, I want to back off somewhat for a more fundamental view—a view of the general problem that societies have in educating their young and the special complications to this problem in our present society.

Educating the young is probably the second most fundamental problem which any society faces—second only to the problem of controlling its members and carrying out actions as a society. It is fundamental because it consists of taking a mass of animals—the untamed infants—and making of them members of society.

I would suggest, for reasons that will soon become apparent, that our society is doing, with every passing decade, a poorer job in handling this fundamental problem and, in particular, the parts of this problem which are in the area of citizenship and social responsibility. Do I mean that our schools are getting worse all the time? No—to the contrary. What I mean is that the problem is becoming with each passing decade a more and more complex one, outdistancing the feeble steps we make toward improving our

methods. Now I will say *why* the problem is getting rapidly more complex. At first glance, this problem of making children into members of society seems much the same in every society. Yet the problem is *faced* very differently in different societies; and I think if we look closely, we see that it is in fact a very different problem in different societies.

Take at one extreme a stable society, focused around the home and family as the unit of production—a stable farming society will do as an example. In such a society, it is clear that the child can learn all he needs to know very directly at the hand of his father; he can take on responsibilities in slow stages, and he can learn by direct observation how to relate to the world outside his family. The task of education in such a stable, localized, and personalized society—which is not long past in our country—is a simple one and is carried out as part of the same "natural process" by which a parent teaches his child to walk or to talk.

This is not to say that in such a society the education a child receives is the "best of all educations in that best of all possible worlds." It is often, in fact, far from it, for each child is at the mercy of his parents; and if his parents are ne'er-do-wells or criminals or the like, the "natural processes" by which they indoctrinate or socialize him makes him a ne'er-do-well or a criminal. Nevertheless, for good or ill, the problem is handled as naturally within the family as is the problem of teaching a child to walk or to talk.

Near the other extreme stands our present society—rapidly changing, cosmopolitan, with highly rationalized industry. First of all, jobs can no longer be taught by the father. He is often obsolescent, and even when he is not, he works away from home under conditions in which it is inconceivable that he might delegate some responsibility to his son, might give him "on-the-job" training and slow, "natural" steps to adulthood. The child can no longer help the family economically; and in turn the family has nothing to offer the child in training for his place in the community. Thus jobs, and skills for jobs, must be taught by some institution outside the family, the school. But this is only one point; another is that the period of training is *longer*. With every decade, more of the jobs available in our society require a high level of training. As

our industrial economy comes of age, it has less and less room for laborers and skilled workers, more and more room for engineers and managers. Thus not only do we relegate education to an institution outside the family; we are having to keep a child there longer before he is "processed" and fit to take his place as an adult in society.

These two facts taken together—this setting apart of our children in schools (which take on ever more functions, ever more "extra-curricular activities") and the fact that we keep them there longer—have a singular impact on the child of high school age. He is "cut off" from the rest of society, forced inward toward his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age. He comes, with his fellows, to constitute a small society all its own, a society which has most of its important interactions *within*, and maintains only a few threads of connection to the outside adult society. In our modern world of mass communication and rapid diffusion of ideas and knowledge, it is hard to realize that separate subcultures can exist right under our very noses—subcultures with languages all their own, with special symbols, and, most importantly, with value systems which may differ largely from our own. Anyone who has tried to talk to his adolescent son or daughter recently knows what I mean—as does anyone who has recently visited a high school for the first time since his own adolescence. These young people speak a different language, to put it simply. And what is most relevant to the present point, the language they speak is becoming more and more different.

Let me digress for a moment to illustrate this increasing "separateness" with some of the schools I am studying now.* Some of the schools are in small towns; some are city schools; some are suburban. With one small-town school in particular, we have come close to "reaching back into history," for the town has changed very little in size and composition for a number of years. It is a rural market town in the prosperous corn country of Illinois.

At the other extreme, the very essence of modern society, are

*Dr. Coleman, in 1958-59, was conducting a study of ten high schools in the Chicago area, under a grant from the U. S. Office of Education; a number of references in this chapter are to findings of this study.—*Ed.*

the two suburban schools: one very well-to-do, and the other in a new working-class suburb. In both these "bedroom" communities, the fathers commute to work in the city; and altogether the parents have very few means of giving their children adult responsibilities—work responsibilities, if you will—which can help tie them to the adult community.

The contrast between this rural market town and the two suburbs in the kinds of adolescents they produce is quite striking. If you asked them, as I did in a questionnaire that went to every student, questions which forced them to choose between parents and peers, you would find a result that was clear-cut: the small-town boys and girls stayed with their parents, while the students of the two suburban schools chose, *more than any of the other eight schools in the study,* to stick with their friends. In fact, in all the small-town schools, the boys and girls still tended to be "boys and girls," looking toward their parents, while the city and especially suburban boys and girls were "teenagers," looking toward their *friends* for approval.

I received a particularly perceptive letter from a parent in the well-to-do suburban community, which illustrates what I mean. This father, a lawyer, first wrote asking what I was doing, sending him a questionnaire of the sort I sent to all parents. I wrote him explaining that I was trying to learn about the adult community in relation to the children and asked for any views he might have about the adolescent culture in his community. He replied with the letter which I quote in part:

> Mrs. —— and I do not believe we could give you much useful information about the teen-age culture as it exists in ——. . . . We see this culture in a very limited aspect, through our sophomore daughter, and our limited familiarity with her contemporaries. It is truly surprising how little one person knows about the inner thinking of another, particularly when the other is an adolescent. I suspect that the interests and values current in the high school group are more independent of those of the adult community than we generally believe.
>
> Most children of this age, at least in ——, I believe do not have serious responsibilities, such as helping to support a family or to prepare to pay their way through college, and therefore are not

> acquainted with people engaged in making a living, and do not understand the problems and responsibilities which parents have. As a result, they do not obtain the experience which goes with such responsibility, . . . and, in effect, live in a world separate from the adult community.

As if it were not enough that such subsocieties exist sharply segregated from the rest of society, there are other things which strongly reinforce their separateness. Adolescents are an important market nowadays, and one that buys special kinds of entertainment which cater almost exclusively to it. Popular music is the most important case, for its audience is very largely under twenty-one. And movies, since television took away their adult audience, have moved more and more toward becoming a special medium for adolescents.

To summarize the situation very simply: in a rapidly changing, highly rationalized society, the "natural processes" of education in the family are no longer adequate; we have replaced them by a more formalized institution, one which is set apart from the rest of society, one which covers a longer span of time. As a consequence, we find ourselves no longer with a set of *individuals* to be trained toward adulthood, but with distinct cultures, small social systems which offer a united front to the overtures made by adult society.

Thus the very changes our society is undergoing have spawned something more than we bargained for. They have taken not only the training-for-job out of a parent's hands, but have quite effectively taken the whole adolescent himself away and have dumped him into a society of his peers, a society whose habitats are the halls and classrooms of the school, the teenage canteen, the corner drugstore, the automobile, and numerous other natural habitats of Homo sapiens, age sixteen. Consequently, the nonoccupational training—citizenship training, if you will—which parents once gave to adolescents via "natural processes" has been taken out of their hands as well—not by the schools (many of which are dismayed at the thought of having to take over parental functions), but by those very social changes which have removed adolescents into a society of their own.

This state of affairs presents a problem, for the natural proc-

esses no longer function. But it offers an intriguing opportunity for education which has never before been possible. These social changes, wresting adolescents from their parents' influence at an earlier age, have made it less possible for each parent to make the child into his own image, to fit him for a position in society that he himself occupies. They have put children more nearly on an equal footing, made more possible than ever before a true democracy in education.

The *problem,* then, is that these societies of adolescents, cut off from their parents, can create spontaneous cultures of their own; the *opportunity* is that, with sophisticated handling, these societies of adolescents can be shaped so as to generate within themselves better training for citizenship and civic responsibility than has ever been possible before.

Not only is there an *opportunity;* there is extreme *urgency* in shaping these societies so that they generate their own civic responsibilities. For as the natural processes of parental indoctrination become less and less effective, the vacuum becomes ever greater —and it will be filled by an adolescent culture whose values lead away from rather than toward maturity and adult responsibilities. This is well exemplified in a school I am currently studying. Two years ago, when I first came to study it, a devoted English teacher had made the school newspaper into a forum for ideas. The newspaper staff was the core of a widening circle of discussion and debate about current events and public affairs. Last year the teacher left, and into the vacuum stepped a remarkable boy, a transfer from another school. This boy exhibited absolute self-confidence, was unfrightened by adults and by peers, saw little of value in school work, and within one school year transferred the concerns of his fellows to dating and parties and pleasures of the moment.

Now why is it that these societies of adolescents seem to find their resting place in such pleasures of the moment and in a passive resistance or halfhearted compliance with the school's demands? Is it because teenagers are "just that way"? Fortunately not, as many researches have shown, for adults exhibit the same behavior when they become "inmates" or fellow subordinates under the authority of others. They form little societies of their

own when they can, and these societies have some things in common: they set up their *own* rules of conduct, which often act to thwart the desires of those in authority; they establish "work norms" which act primarily to hold *down* any exertion of energy, to restrain any "rate-busters." (Note the analogous terms which arise in schools: the "curve-raiser" or the "DAR—damned average raiser.")

Now what is it about such little societies which generates this resistant behavior? This is a question upon which we need research; but the central answer seems clear: these societies cannot *act positively*. They have no *goal* as a society. In contrast, in an "open society" which has a common goal, norms of *achievement* develop, and all members are infused with a civic responsibility to contribute toward the goal. Men become selfless in such a situation; they learn, as in no other way, to subordinate their own desires to the common good.

It is hard to say precisely what we mean by citizenship or by civic responsibility, but I suggest that such selflessness, such willingness to forego individual interests for a goal of the society as a whole, is close to the heart of the matter. And I further suggest that societies of adolescents can, *under the right conditions*, develop such selflessness, such assumption of social responsibilities. It is up to the adults to provide the right conditions.

I can illustrate what I mean with the example of Verde Valley School, which Professor Patterson found so appealing in its development of citizenship. What is the condition it provides? I think this: it presents problems and obstacles which the "society of adolescents" can attack *together*. Thus everyone must become a "useful citizen"; everyone must develop civic responsibility. The very norms of the group develop to insure this. "It's *fun* to work," as one of the boys said.

I must hasten to add, lest I be misunderstood, that I am not suggesting that such a plan could be a solution for many schools, for it clearly cannot. I mean to say only that this example shows one way in which the society of adolescents can generate *within itself* the norms and constraints of civic responsibility.

In other words, I have not reached the end, but only the beginning—the premises from which I want to begin. The premises are

these: Educators are no longer faced with individual students subject to parental subordination to whom they can "teach citizenship." They are faced with societies, societies for which they can establish the conditions which will generate social responsibility—not only among the "good learners" and the "highly motivated," but among the whole society of students. They must somehow give these societies the opportunity to *act* positively as societies and reward them for doing so. But how?

I think there are many possible ways. I will discuss a few which seem to me feasible; but in so doing, I hope as much as anything else to indicate the *kinds* of things that are feasible—the kinds of things which will maintain themselves without heroic efforts on the part of uncommon teachers or principals, things which do not require the special circumstances of a private boarding school or docile, well-trained children.

There are a few places where we can pick up hints about the possibilities in this direction. When we look at the ineffectiveness of student councils and try to make them more effective, a single obstacle always arises: because we adults intend to keep the basic policies, and even specific procedures, under our own authority, student councils have nothing to do, no authority which can breed responsibility. But suppose we take the focus away from *internal* government—that is, decisions about the way the school should be run—and put it on *external* actions, actions which the student body can take toward the outside: interscholastic competition, expositions, class excursions, parties, community surveys, or work projects. Students can be given a wide range of authority over such activities without endangering the policies or procedures of the school. To restate the general point: students cannot be given much authority over *internal* matters in the school, but they can be given the chance to act as a body and to take authority in *external* affairs.

One general area involving such external action is that of work camps or work projects. The best examples of this are ordinarily found in private schools, where it is easiest to establish out-of-class activities. I suspect that such schools as the Putney School in Vermont and the Verde Valley School, which include such community activities and responsibilities as physical labor, induce in

their students a sense of acting as a group and of civic responsibility far beyond that found in many traditional private schools. A specific research in this area would be a study of private schools which vary in this respect, some allowing numerous areas of collective student action-toward-the-outside, and others not. What is the differential impact on a student's sense of civic responsibility?

But examples of this are evident in public schools as well. I suspect that the program of agricultural education affiliated with agricultural extension services, and associated also with 4-H Club work, has done more to induce a sense of social responsibility, civic pride, and adult responsibilities among farm boys than all the rest of their education. This is only in part because it captivates their interest by focusing on what they are proficient in; it is also because these are group projects, projects in which each member can take pride, but for which he must sacrifice time, effort, and any notions of raising hell that he might have had. They build a barn, or field a crop of corn or tobacco, or clear some pasture. If I am right, then the appropriate research would show that this program has given farm boys—purely as a by-product—the kind of civic responsibility that their city cousins could well use.

What about similar programs for nonfarm youth—not programs which are designed to "make good citizens," but programs which give a group responsibility and authority in nonacademic areas, for *doing* something, for achieving something? To be sure, such programs would not teach about our bicameral system of government nor about the functions of the Senate in international affairs—but these are another and separable part of citizenship education, facts which are to be *learned* and which can be *taught* in regular academic classrooms. But even here I would suggest that such projects, by inducing a sense of social responsibility and attracting a teenager's attention away from cars and movies and dating and dancing, make him far more likely to take an interest in learning such facts and learning other things offered in the classroom.

There are examples of such projects in areas other than agriculture: the project carried out in Baltimore high schools—resulting in the book, *Baltimore: City of Promise*, mentioned by Professor Patterson—is an excellent example, for it accomplished the sec-

ond purpose of teaching the history and traditions of the city. I would like to see the results of follow-up interviews with those who were involved in this project, compared with others who were born too early or too late to take part. If I am right, they would not only *know* more about Baltimore's history, they would be more likely to feel *identified* with the city and their school.

A different kind of project is carried out in a suburban school outside Chicago: the shop classes *build a house,* every few years, in the community, and the home economics class furnishes it. It's a good house, too—the last one sold for more than $20,000. I suspect this induces in the boys who take part a very different sense of social responsibility than do the usual individual projects in shop classes.

Of course, there are obstacles to such projects in many public schools—obstacles such as the fact that the academic program usually doesn't have room for them during the day unless they are part of classroom activity, and obstacles such as the fact that they presuppose hard work by committed teachers. But these obstacles may not be crucial. Look at athletics in high schools, for which there is no room in the academic program during the day; it seems to be able to maintain itself fairly well in most schools. Why is this?

To answer this question, we are led into the next general area —and a crucial area—where I think fruitful experimentation and evaluative research could be done. This general area might be called "competition and cooperation."

To introduce this area, I'd like to observe that athletics in high school has probably done more "citizenship education" than all the courses in civics put together. I say this in full cognizance of the fact that athletics in many schools threatens to stamp out education altogether. (I'm reminded of one small town in Illinois whose school had produced several state championship or near-championship basketball teams. The town floated a bond issue for a fancy new gymnasium and was upset when the state pointed out that the school had no library, and proposed that it create a library first.)

Why do I say, in the face of this, that athletics has played an important part in citizenship education? Because athletic teams

can take boys whose background has left them uninterested in formal learning and induce in them a self-constraint and a sense of responsibility toward team, school, and community which no academic subject can do. I say this not out of pure conjecture, but after looking at some research results in the ten schools I'm studying. If we look at the good athletes in these schools, they are considerably above average on almost all citizenship criteria: in the kinds of standards held by the groups they go around with; in their attitudes toward the school and community—and they even study more than the average.

But there is one important caveat to this—it isn't so in *all* these ten schools. In some, it appears that athletics gains *so* much prestige for the stars that they are free and reckless with this power, unconstrained by the sense of social responsibility they might have felt in another school, a school which managed to distribute its prestige and power more evenly.

This suggests an important research problem on which we now know little: how can rewards in a system best be distributed so that all (or almost all) will be captured by a sense of civic pride and group responsibility, while no one gets so many rewards that he becomes irresponsible? Again, it seems that group activities for which the winners get rewarded, but which allow few possibilities for individual stars, might be part of the answer. But this is only conjecture, and research is needed. Athletics has its individual rewards—and certainly too many of them in many schools in America—but it does induce constraints and group-reinforced rules of conduct, a completely new experience for some of its participants. The team is *representing* the school, and this is not so distant from being a civic representative in other matters. The athlete has adult responsibilities to his school and team and community, in training and performing responsibilities which often outweigh any others he has in school.

I do not want to be misunderstood. I am not proposing more athletics in our schools. I would like to see far less. What I am suggesting is this: that competition *between schools* gives the society of adolescents a chance to *act as a unit*. By so doing, it *induces* social responsibility reinforced by the adolescent society in a way that competition among *individuals* within a school (for

good grades, for example) can never do. We have the curious fact (documented by much research, if we can't see it around us every day) that *competition between* groups induces *cooperation within* groups. Competition between individuals, on the other hand, such as exists with grades in academic subjects, does no such thing. It induces, instead, a kind of group defense mechanism which ridicules the "damned average raiser." Note that there are no such epithets for the basketball star, for *his* achievements have benefited team, school, and community and have made him a local hero. (Incidentally, I know a small town in Indiana, Shelbyville by name, in which basketball has done probably more to break down racial barriers than any other single thing. Their team won the state championship, and the star of the team, the hero of town and school, was a Negro.)

Such interscholastic competition exists to a slight degree in other areas; debating is perhaps the best academic example. In helping to win a debate for his school, a boy or girl is performing a *civic function,* one for which he has had to deny himself pleasures and accept a social responsibility. Yet in many such areas of interschool competition, including both debating and athletics, the promise of individual reward is too great; he has not had to give up individual glory to help the society accomplish its goal. Suppose other kinds of activities, requiring a coordination of individual efforts, were the subject of widespread interschool competition. For example, music contests. I might note that among small schools in Northern Illinois, which send top-notch bands, choruses, and soloists to the regional and state music contests, it is a thing of pride for a boy to play in the band, not the "sissy" activity that it often is in other schools. It appears clear that this is in large part due to the civic function the band performs in going out to win for the *school.*

Examples like these can be found spotted here and there, but they are infrequent. It would be an interesting and ambitious experiment for a state to organize a comprehensive schedule of state-wide competition in a series of activities, with points accruing to schools for each activity and real rewards to the over-all winners in each region or class of school. Suppose the competition culminated in a state-wide "scholastic fair" which would encom-

pass activities all the way from chess tournaments, through school-wide industrial arts projects, to track meets or basketball games. Note that this is different from the "science fairs," which exist in some cities now, in one crucial respect. It would involve competition between *schools*, with both group and individual projects, so that a school would participate as a school.

To some, such a scholastic fair might seem a far cry from citizenship education; but I suggest that such a program would give these adolescent societies a chance to *act positively*, would give the student councils a function beyond their usual negative one of enforcing discipline, and would produce a common goal toward which each student could contribute and toward which the whole school could bend its efforts, replacing individual desires by social responsibility. Such a plan would still contain the dangers that teachers and principal in a school might assume too much responsibility, failing to vest it in the students themselves. But this is a minor problem which could be protected against. Remember, too, that some of these activities, such as debate, require a good academic background and thus miss those whose sense of civic responsibility is weakest; others, such as industrial arts, home economics, and athletics, allow the boy or girl with a poor educational background a chance to serve and to achieve.

Such an experiment, on a state-wide or city-wide level, might not work. I have no knowledge that it would—but the only way we could tell is by experimenting. And the evidence we have now, from social research in schools and elsewhere, suggests that it would work.

To summarize this important class of mechanisms of group competition: they allow the group to act positively and thus motivate its members to share a civic responsibility; if the different activities are carefully *balanced*, so that achievement in each raises school and community pride, then this provides social rewards for scholar, athlete, and craftsman alike, rewards of the sort that presently accrue only to the athlete in many schools. Furthermore, in contrast to work projects which are enforced by the curriculum, the projects which are induced by interscholastic competition bring out *volunteers* among both students and teachers. The motivation comes from within, and the achievement is rewarded by the school

and community as a whole. Such volunteer activity overcomes the objection to work projects mentioned earlier, that there is no room for them except in the program of the vocational or agricultural student.

With all the physical deterioration that exists in cities (and all the need for public facilities, such as parks, in suburbs), it is intriguing to think of the work projects that high school students could engage in—projects which use every skill from mathematics and English to bricklaying. But activity in the community seems most easily brought about by self-induced motivation, through interscholastic competition, rather than through curricular changes. Such competition would need strong rewards—for the projects would involve intensive effort—but setting up this type of competition might be possible. And if it *did* work right, I suspect that the kind of citizenship we would be inducing in *all* high school students would be so far above our present levels that there would be no comparison. Or to look at it in the reverse way, cities would be rehabilitating not only public facilities but private citizens as well.

Incidentally, anyone who is dismayed (as I am) by the low pay and low status of teachers might ponder this fact: communities find a way to pay high salaries to high school athletic coaches—why? Because a coach carries out a *service for the community*. Whenever his teams perform well, he and his athletes give the school and community *pride* in itself. Suppose other teachers had a chance to perform a similar function for school and community. Might not the community find ways to give them a similar pay and status? Yet I should warn, as any good sociologist might: merely to institute interscholastic competition, without attention to details, will not be successful.

Until now, I have talked about ways to use the society of adolescents itself as a means of instituting citizenship, by giving it the opportunity to do so. I think such a solution is the only fundamental one for making adults out of adolescents. Not only is it a fundamental solution; it is coming to be a more and more *necessary* one as changes in society force the parental grasp off from his child earlier and earlier. I think that the most fruitful research that can be done is experimentation in ways to accom-

plish this. I have mentioned some possible ways above, but these are only a few.

Besides this fundamental matter, I would like to turn attention to some other mechanisms which need to be studied for their usefulness in citizenship education. To introduce them, let's turn again to the question of what it means to become an adult, a responsible citizen, a man or woman who can act intelligently in civic and political affairs.

Part of this is simply *knowledge*—knowledge of how a government works, knowledge of other countries, and so on. This knowledge can best be dispensed in a classroom, using techniques about which educators know far more than I and which I shall not presume to discuss.

Part of it is something else, which I have been discussing above: the ability to take on civic and social responsibility, to forego personal pleasures, to share in a common social goal. As I've implied above, I don't think this can be *taught* in the classroom, for it is not learning anything one didn't already know, but *acting* upon those principles that one already knows he should act upon.

There is still a third thing, which all of us learn in social interaction, but which some know far better than others. Adam Smith called it "sympathy" in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, but that term has been corrupted since his time. We would call it "ability to take the role of the other," the ability to internalize others' problems and to modify our own behavior by taking account of those problems. Becoming adult implies the ability to do this with respect to other *persons*—to *identify* with others outside ourselves to the extent that we soften our behavior toward them. Becoming adult politically implies the ability to do this with respect to other *groups*, societies, and organizations of which one is not a part—not, of course, to sacrifice one's own group interests to the advantage of the opponent, but to "see the other's point of view," so that compromises may be reached.

Now the techniques I have discussed above which make use of the adolescent society do not help much in this. There are, however, social-psychological techniques which seem promising and which merit further attention. To introduce one of them, let me cite a personal experience. At one time, as a new employee of

Eastman Kodak Company, I was enrolled in a supervisory training course. The course, whose students were primarily long-employed production supervisors, used audio-visual techniques, showing films of "good" and "bad" supervisory practices and pointing out what was wrong with this foreman's techniques, how he should have taken more interest in the employee's problems, and so on. The production supervisors and I yawned and slept through the films. (The nice thing about films, I've always found, is that lights are off and no teacher is looking at you, so you don't have to keep up a pretense of paying attention.) We came away from the course completely unaffected, because we all knew already what a good foreman *should* do.

There was a second course, however, which involved role playing. Now a foreman was put in a position of having to *act out the role* of the worker (not the role of the foreman) in situations like those posed in the movie. The results were very different, as you might suppose. These foremen, forced to take a role with interests opposed to the foreman's role and to act effectively in this role, began to see—no, to *feel*—all sorts of ways in which the foreman was harsh, unjust, and incorrect. They left the role-playing course with very different perspectives about the worker-foreman relationship than they had had when they came in. They had been forced to *act* in another role and thus to identify with the person in it—to *sympathize*, as Adam Smith put it, with the other. They knew before what they *should* do in their supervisory relations and they needed no moral preachment to tell them so, either by lecture or by fancy audio-visual devices; but after role playing they *felt* what they should do, because they could more nearly "feel" the worker's difficulties.

I use this example to suggest the general possibilities of role playing and psychodrama. There is a good deal of systematic evidence now that such results as I mentioned above are not atypical—that role playing *does* have such effects. There have been examples of role playing and psychodrama in the classroom, so I am suggesting nothing new. What I am saying is that social psychologists have evidence that this technique *does* work under the right conditions. Furthermore, I am suggesting that the *kind* of effect it has is crucial to citizenship education.

There is one other technique which is related to this, but which may be even more appropriate for helping children to become adult in a political and civic sense. For a long time, armies have carried on an activity that they call "war gaming." Our Defense Department carries on war gaming, and it's done somewhat as follows: the opposing sides are set up, with a leader or group of leaders on each side, and elaborate details as to strength of forces and physical conditions are laid out. There is a referee, and as each side makes a move, the referee judges its consequences. Finally one side or the other has won the battle, and the game is over.

Recently, a sociologist at RAND Corporation, Herbert Goldhamer, began what is called "political gaming." Area experts who have a wealth of knowledge about particular areas throughout the world set up a hypothetical international situation; each area expert (or group of experts) took the role of the government of one country he knew well, and the game was on. A referee decided the consequences of each action within the country (on public opinion and pressure groups), and each leader responded to the international situation as it changed over time. An interesting result of this political gaming, though not one that concerns us here, has been the surprising similarity of some of the game's actions and outcomes to subsequent actions and outcomes of international situations.

From our point of view, this innovation is interesting because of its possible effect on its participants. The roles they played are now not interpersonal roles, but *intergroup* roles, so that they came to identify with the activities of groups in societies of which they will never be members. Acting as a union leader or industrialist at a wage-bargaining table, or as a lawyer for one side, the expert mustered all the arguments he could to win his point. Or as a congressman or lawyer or witness in a congressional investigating committee, he summoned to his command all the reasons he had at his disposal. Or as a member of a French foreign policy team, he might have come to understand far more about the reasons for French actions than you or I do.

Such "games" would not only have the "role-playing" effect on his ability to understand a group's actions. They should also

generate motivation; and in the course of "training" to win the game, the pseudo-congressman might learn more about governmental processes than he would in four otherwise undisturbed years at high school. And to return for a minute to the matter of interscholastic competition, this kind of gaming would seem to fit perfectly, for it could perhaps generate suspense and the kind of spectator involvement that is usually found only in athletics (or sometimes, among adults, at bridge tournaments).

RAND Corporation, in a recent report summarizing the results to date, comments that this indeed has been the case. The most striking consequence of the games, according to this report, has been the intense involvement created among the participants and advisers (which included seasoned experts in international affairs, social scientists, physicists, and mathematicians at RAND, and M. I. T. students). They report that the M. I. T. students continued to discuss strategy for days afterward and that the participants were avid followers of subsequent news, to watch whether the countries took the "right" action or not.

In sum, then, political gaming seems an interesting innovation which might well be experimented with in high schools. It is new enough so that experience is needed in applying it, but it offers intriguing possibilities for helping to make citizens out of adolescents.

One step removed from this political gaming is another quite recent development. It is sometimes called management gaming, and in essence it is this: a team of business executives, representing a hypothetical firm, is placed in a situation of competition with other firms. The conditions facing the firm are developed in minutest detail, and the team of executives plans strategies, works out tactics, and makes decisions for the hypothetical company. The conditions change as a consequence of the decisions, and new decisions must be made. Finally the game is over, and the firm's present position is evaluated. These "games," used by a number of large companies, are for executive training—for placing executives in realistic and difficult situations where they must evaluate complex data, make decisions, and take the consequences.

In one crucial way, these games are different from the political gaming discussed above. An electronic computer provides the

"environment," the conditions under which the firm must operate. Because the data are economic, and thus numerical, the computer can be used to analyze quickly the consequences of a decision and face the decision-maker with a modified environment resulting from this decision. By having an electronic computer act as the environment and referee, an important difficulty inherent in political gaming is overcome: the special skills and extreme efforts required on the part of those establishing the environmental conditions and the rules of the game. This is one of the obstacles reported by RAND to general and frequent use of political gaming, and it would be particularly acute in a high school.

It is not too outlandish to conceive that the businessman's new mode of training—by management games—might easily be brought down to the high school level. Nor is it far-fetched to believe that a modified form of political gaming, using electronic computers to provide the environment, might be developed for the high school level. With computers quickly becoming inexpensive, these possibilities become distinctly feasible.

I have recently heard of another interesting innovation which has some things in common with the things I've been talking about. This is a series of "international debates" carried out via tape recordings, initiated by Choate School locking horns with an English school, a French school, and a German school. I suspect that such a venture requires an uncommon amount of initiative and is not likely to take hold of its own accord in many schools. But if it were facilitated by an international exchange organization and perhaps encouraged by an international debate-at-a-distance *tournament*, even an ordinary school might be impelled to participate.

One of the implications of the things I've been saying is something which I regard as important: a single public school can do less by itself than is commonly thought—it is part of a system of activities in which the community expects it to perform well, relative to the other schools in that system. If the system of activities is *itself* changed for a whole group of schools, then it becomes far easier for any one school to change. This, I suspect, is the reason that, as is reported, many school principals in unacademically inclined schools have welcomed the National Merit Scholar-

ship Testing, for it adds to the set of things which are important in that school a new, academic dimension.

As I look back on what I have said, it seems that I have said only one thing: find ways to let adolescents *act*. First of all, let the adolescent society itself act in positive directions, directions of achievement for which rewards will be forthcoming from adult society.

But beyond this, let the individual students act in hypothetical situations in the role of citizens, policy makers, civic leaders, businessmen, presidents, kings, and diplomats. For surely, as the act is the father of the thought and the child is father of the man, this should make them citizens.

There is one very important point that I am certain I have underemphasized. This is the point that whatever solutions are attempted for this general problem of citizenship education, they should not depend upon the commitment of exceptional teachers or principals, nor upon the especially favorable circumstances of private schools, nor upon the motivation to learn which some students, but not others, have. The background papers, as I read them, were filled with accounts of noble experiments which worked for a time so long as they were heavily supported from without, and then faded from use.

Let me illustrate what I mean by solutions which use the system itself to induce the desired effects. The Ford Foundation gave a great deal of money a few years ago to raise the salaries of college professors. That was a noble gesture, and one which gave many faculty members an immediate slight increase (though ever so slight). I suspect that the increase in many cases substituted for, rather than added to, part of the next salary increase that the men would have got; and in sum, I suspect the total long-run effect on faculty salaries was very small.

But the Ford Foundation also gave a small amount of money, a tiny fraction of the other, to several universities to set up new professorial chairs in particular departments. What was the consequence? I wish I knew in sum—but I can say that in one university, for one such chair, I saw the following impact: four professors' salaries were raised at other universities without a penny of the Ford money being spent. How? Simply because the

post was offered to four people, whose home institutions raised their salaries to keep them. In other words, by the creation of new chairs, a greater demand for faculty members was created. This demand *itself* acted to raise salaries.

Now I don't know whether such a solution might have been possible on a more widespread scale or not; I'm not that much of an economist. But I do suspect that *that use* of the money gave it an impact many times its face value—and merely as a by-product, for it was not designed to raise faculty salaries.

Some of you, feeling sorry for the universities, might object that this helped the professors in question, but at the expense of the university's budget. I say that the university's financial problem is not one of being unable to pay the faculty more; it's a distributional problem, a problem of robbing another Peter (its building program) to pay that Paul (its faculty), and if it has to do so, it can. I would say a similar thing about the citizen in the local community in this time of prosperity: if he is induced to pay a math teacher more because the math teacher has to work harder and be better trained in order to coach the math team well, then he's not being vitally hurt—he's only robbing his automobile Peter to pay his educational Paul. And he might not even feel upset about it, but feel fortunate to have a math coach who wins for old South Hi. After all, he seems to be able to pay his football coach without feeling too unhappy about it.

What are needed in education, rather than noble experiments which depend upon particular people or benevolent financing, are solutions which will lodge themselves into the system of education and themselves generate the forces which ensure their continuance. In other words, what are needed are solutions which are generated by modifying institutional arrangements and which then will help to hold themselves in place. It is for this reason that I have repeatedly pointed to interscholastic competition as a mechanism to bring about, paradoxically, cooperation and social responsibility. The only thing necessary to bring about such competition is the right social rewards, that is, the right institutional arrangements. For example, consider for a moment a scholastic fair which included athletic events, mathematical and science contests, political gaming, debates, industrial arts, and

home economics competition. Assuming for a moment that such a fair would have the results on citizenship I've suggested, this one activity could "hold in place" the efforts of a diverse sort which would lead not only to better citizenship, but to better education. If someone were now to ask what would hold the fair itself in place, I might answer an *international* scholastic fair.

But instead I might reply that such a program would be nearly self-sustaining, even without an international scholastic Olympics. It would not require elaborate training materials or teacher training or curriculum revision. To be sure, it might *induce* the local community to revise curricula or buy training materials, and it might lead the teacher to bone up so as to send his charges on to win, but the satisfying thing about such consequences is that they are induced from *within* rather than doled out or enforced from without. We have too often thought of simple solutions to educational problems, which turn out to be no solution at all, because they are imposed from without and are easily shed off the back of the local community or the individual student, whose concern is with other things.

CHAPTER TWELVE

New Designs for Civic Education in the High School

DONALD McNASSOR

THE CENTRAL IDEA DEVELOPED IN THIS CHAPTER IS THAT apathy in adolescents concerning social responsibility is directly related to youth's conditions of anonymity—a cultural and developmental phenomenon—and to the fragmented and diffuse way of life they have in this century. In addition to the writer's personal research and experience with this question, three sources provided inspiration for the chapter: concepts of Erich Kahler concerning the break-down of the unity of personality in modern man *(The Tower and the Abyss*[1]*)*; Erik H. Erikson's discussion of personality diffusion in adolescents *(Childhood and Society*[2]*)*; and a recent four-day experience living in the Verde Valley School, a coeducational private residential high school near Sedona, Arizona, where youth evidence considerable identity development, independence of thought and values, and strength of ego.

An Analysis of Apathy in HighSchool Students Concerning Social Responsibility

The use of the word "apathy" in relation to social responsibility is intended as a description of what one observes often in the surface behavior of youth. It is not a good descriptive term for purposes of identifying the inner condition of adolescents. Although what is observed may be called *apathy*—an emotional disinterestedness—the emotion of adolescents concerning social responsibility more nearly involves *anxiety* that is produced by psychosocial factors in moving from the latency period toward maturity.[3]

So when *apathy* is used in this chapter, what is meant is withdrawing behavior that results from deep disturbance, much in the same sense that Bruno Bettelheim of the University of Chicago refers to boredom of the gifted child in school as being a sign of deep emotional conflict.[4]

I am postulating a general condition of apathy among high school students toward the problems and conditions of social order and human welfare that are perceived by adults as the substance of civic education and as the whole field of social studies education. Some students' behavior toward school studies and their thinking about their future strongly suggest that the whole matter of human organizations and events, past and present, and their complex motive structure are not of great concern. The main targets for enthusiastic efforts at learning and participation in school are classes and experiences in how to make a living and how to acquire peer popularity and society's status materials. The classes in the school curriculum dealing with social study and responsibility receive a more indifferent response. It is as though students cannot identify with such distant matters, which to them seem more the proper concern of their elders. Also it is as though there is something very threatening about a relation with events and people in the world outside.

In recent research by the writer, many high school students were asked to select from a group of twenty pictures from the book of photographs, *The Family of Man*, five that most appealed to them

and five that held the least appeal. Uniformly among both "poor" and "good" students, the least appealing pictures included those which portrayed such civic-social situations as justice and the courts, the United Nations in session, a starving woman from another country, minority-group people.

The energies of youth are drained principally into creating a status and, as Erik Erikson conceives it, "comfort through similarity"[5] in the teenage world of exclusiveness, passing customs and fads, changing goals and values. At the same time, students show in private conversations that they are not happy about this state of things. In such conversations, the remark heard often is that "there is nothing else to do" except to be preoccupied with the ways of childhood. This clearly indicates a feeling of not being needed in adult or near-adult roles and ways of life, and a feeling that there is something wrong with this.

Young people would like to take hold of some kind of life more substantial than the aimless, passing concerns of adolescent culture and social life, but they cannot seem to maintain the enthusiasm or find the pathways to make this happen. It is rare to find students in school deeply engrossed with understanding where man has been, the present condition and fixes he is in, and the opportunities in his future. Courses in history, literature, government, and economics usually rate low in interest. Again, private conversations in out-of-school settings indicate that youth are concerned with problems in these fields, but the concern does not come rushing through in the classrooms of most high schools.

These generalizations can be extended too far, of course; there are exceptions. As a description of a general tendency in American youth, however, the generalizations seem adequate. Our task now is to try to understand this condition and conceive of new patterns of educational experimentation which will make civic education a more vital force in the lives of students. Some reasons explaining the apathy of youth concerning social responsibility are offered in the following pages.

The major contributing factor relates to the condition in adolescence that is not principally conditioned by cultural influences. This is the inevitable very diffuse and uncertain state of personal identity. The young person is not clear any more as to who he

really is, what he can do, and what he should not do. Stated in Pearson's terms, the high school student does not have "well defined ego boundaries" and he has difficulty "recognizing himself as a person, separate and distinct from other people."[6] In addition, for many youths up to the eleventh and twelfth grades, sex identification and security has not been entirely developed, and this is enough to keep students from turning full energy to social institutions and relationships in a wider society. These conditions, which do not alter rapidly even by changing the environment of the student, are responsible for some of the lack of civic responsibility and intense study of human affairs observed in high school classes. They may, and often do, continue into the early college years. So one cannot reasonably expect a quality of social responsibility at age fifteen to seventeen that is observed several years later. But this is only part of the story, for in many ways "adolescence" is prolonged in modern times, and we have to look to cultural factors, including the culture of the school, to understand the apathy concerning social responsibility.

Students receive their gratifications mainly from the peer culture, which tends to exclude adults and adult concerns. Essentially it is a culture of childhood based on the need to belong, to exclude, and in general to develop an identity through activity that is transitory, that leads nowhere in terms of a future way of life. Erikson's concept of adolescence as a "moratorium" on social responsibility is useful here. Lacking opportunities to feel needed and vital in the welfare of the densely populated, specialized adult community, youth seeks pleasure through group activities somewhat closer to childhood—which is known—than to adulthood, which is not known. The apathy concerning social responsibility seems to be partly a result of not feeling needed in adult life, and partly a reaction to anxiety concerning the unknown terrain of the future.

In western countries, especially in America, the question of social responsibility assumes a quality of crisis and of intense conflict between the generations. For several years after the onset of the pubertal development, the young are confined largely to dependent roles and relationships. Then all of a sudden, at age sixteen to eighteen, they are expected to show a high degree of

social responsibility. Society, of course, is threatened by what it gets in this age group and reacts with criticism and constant discussion of the "teenage" situation. This in turn intensifies anxiety in the young about what they are to become as man, woman, worker, citizen. Their feeling of inferiority and fear of not growing up and of death are intensified.

To turn to another aspect of the question, the condition of anonymity, of being an "adolescent" and a student in a large school of 2,000, has crucial implications. The individual feels alone. In no way does he consider that he is a member of a village or community of people with a common destiny, a village in which he is known and cared for and in which he is given convincing roles suitable to his age. Many conversations with students reveal that they feel small and dispensable and that no one has time for them as individuals. Sensing their anonymity, students submerge their human loyalties (loyalties to the human community and a general interest in human affairs) in favor of organizational loyalties—in clubs, cliques, gangs, and peer-group ceremonials. Their commitments are to these groups rather than to a study of human behavior and human conditions in a world extending far out from the peer group. If a person lives in anonymity in the community and school, with a sense that the community does not recognize and encourage his individual creations, he can hardly be expected to concern himself about human needs and conditions extending beyond his private life. There may be a direct connection between the apathy of students concerning civic-social matters in the adult community, local, national, and international, and the fact that their time is spent in dense population centers in large schools which promote feelings of anonymity.

Closely related is the fact that students do not have to do any kind of work to enable the school to run, except to be "students"—which is to say, to continue in a dependent parent-child relationship. Personnel are hired to do everything for them from food handling to all sorts of repair work. Pupils have relatively few ways to assume responsibility for the operation of the school as a learning community. In effect, the school can run without them as individuals, and they know it. In recent years, adult organizations have moved in to take even more responsibility away from the

quential in an atmosphere of drudgery. Interest in current events may be lively, but even this soon runs its course. Few students wish to remain after class, or volunteer to take a problem and spend several weeks exploring its background at deeper levels.

One possible reason for this situation is that students see the real, the serious, world as existing outside the school. They are seeking an identity involving doing something and being somebody in the life outside of school. Yet there is no way of doing anything about this, of becoming directly involved in social and industrial institutions, so there is no alternative to thinking about distant goals and a distant future life in relation to government, economics, and problems of community and national welfare. At age sixteen, a student can maintain interest in distant goals only for short periods of time. Sooner or later, he senses his amateur status and, through anxiety, becomes bored.

A further feature of apathy stems from the lack of a clear pattern of fundamental ideas in the social science curriculum. It is difficult to see such fundamental ideas emerging in the courses of study through which students must move. Students sense this situation. In discussions with them, one finds that they are not sure as to the big ideas they are being asked to cope with. They are aware of 250 concepts and facts they must assimilate, but are unaware of the few major ideas that are worth bothering about. Human history and the affairs of today are viewed as an endless list of small pieces. Small pieces cannot help to reduce the diffusion of adolescent personalities, which want direction and pathways involving fundamental ideas. A whole social science curriculum based on six or seven major underlying ideas related to modern man's development would strike more fire than one based solely on knowing several hundred small pieces.

Another phase of the social science courses worth noting is the tendency to emphasize what man did or does to the exclusion of *who* he was and *who* he is. It is the latter that concerns youths who are trying to find their place in the human scheme of things. From this standpoint, youth can be natural learners of the newer findings in sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and psychiatry, yet few of these findings are presented in contemporary social studies courses.

In recent conferences with many young people, I find great concern expressed in their questions, "What will happen to our form of government?" "Is there hope for our generation?" They often add as a corollary major concern, "What will happen to us?" Phrases like these sound as though they feel anxious and afraid, but are helpless to do anything about it. They sense the reality of the struggle between the Communist and free governments and feel it may have a "for keeps" dimension. They are worried and want *leadership in knowing what to do. Increasingly,* American youth will be trying to grasp firmly some standards and values deeply felt and thoroughly understood so as not to continue on the defensive with the Communist world. With these things on their minds, it is no wonder they show apathy toward civic education which does not give much attention to one of the great problems facing the American people. The confusion of government leaders about this problem has been caught by students. Long overdue is a basic overhauling of the social studies curriculum to enable students to cope effectively with the realities of the international relations of the next generation.

A final point about apathy concerning civic education relates to the student reaction that the adult community, including teachers, will not enable them to get involved very directly in social institutions. Recently a large group of high school students attended a three-day youth conference in San Bernardino, California. The purpose of the conference was stated as follows:

> Men everywhere are concerned about the breakdown in the relationship of individuals in our society to their government. *It is the purpose of this conference to investigate some of the causes of this breakdown and to search for new ways to participate in the* American experiment in self-government.

At first the young people participated in a very lively fashion, discovering all sorts of ways to take part in the "American experiment in self-government" in school and community. On the last day of the conference, however, a strong feeling was expressed generally to the effect that they really couldn't do much about civic participation, that in the last analysis adults would block

them in carrying out projects they had conceived. This conference was attended by students from the Verde Valley School in Arizona. The latter group was both amused and concerned that students from the large metropolitan high schools should be so pessimistic. Students from Verde Valley School felt there was no problem, that they were already doing everything the students from metropolitan high schools wanted to do.

Obviously students cannot become enthusiastic participants in the serious affairs of the adult world unless the adults really want it that way and help create the mechanisms to bring it about. It is particularly important that among the adults should be the people who run the business and social institutions of the community.

The Soil in Which Active, Responsible Adolescent Citizenship Grows

In view of the preceding analysis, it is presumed that students would take hold of social responsibility more vigorously and enter into study of society with more interest if the conditions producing apathy were diluted or removed. A rich soil in which responsibility grows would include the following elements:

1. Opportunities in and out of school for students to receive gratification from participating with adults in the *affairs and problems of the adult world*—social, political, economic; cultural, intercultural, and international. Such activities would have to be the real thing and not mock conventions or role playing. This would start at about age fourteen or fifteen, and every student would be required to be a participant or apprentice in some very real, existing adult institution or process. It is assumed that young people search for significance in the somewhat artificial and childlike culture of their age group because they know they cannot find it in work with adults on problems of the adult world.

2. Reorganization of the large high school into small, self-sufficient learning communities of about 200 students. These smaller groups would be assigned to a faculty of the main academic subject areas, and the students and teachers would study

and work together for two or three years. In addition to their academic study, the students would be involved part of the day or week in definite responsibilities in social and cultural institutions of the community. The whole effort would be to create a small-community or village atmosphere for the student in which he might become well known as a distinctive individual. In this smaller human group, the student would have definite responsibilities beyond those involving being a student.

3. Students are inclined to become more committed to the purposes of a school and its program of studies as they help out in its total operation, as the child does in the home. They need to be directly involved in running the school, including maintenance, cleaning, repair work, decoration, and the very important matter of food preparation and handling. This is based on the theory that the child becomes generally more responsible and sensitive to human welfare in the family if he is a full-fledged partner in helping to operate the home. If everything is done for him, of necessity he creates his own child world, involving a continuance of dependency, and lets the adults have theirs. There is an assumption here that as the student has responsibility for the *total* welfare of his small learning community—the cultural island he must live on for three years—he will be much more motivated in classroom studies.

4. Adolescent social responsibility will grow through a program of studies in the social sciences which clearly communicates as its central, crucial target a better understanding of underlying patterns of human development. An unfragmented social studies curriculum would look very different from a typical one that reads as follows:

9th grade—*Orientation and World cultures*
10th grade—*World History* (which rarely includes prehistory)
11th grade—American History
12th grade—Civics or Senior Problems

How do sixteen-year-olds see any fundamental ideas in a series of courses planned and carried out as unrelated instructional units by teachers who change each semester or year? Most of them do

not see, or care, and the result is a very low interest rating in the school's important subjects. Courses such as those above are usually presented in such fragments that student interest is soon diluted through having to remember so much that *seems* so unrelated and inconsequential. Underlying patterns do not come clear to a student; man and the great revolutions *in his development (including prehistory) do not become the central imagery.* Except for a few students, then, the social studies and humanities are drudgery, instead of a springboard into an exciting quest of self-discovery in the human family.

Adolescents can relate better to instruction which emphasizes, as Erich Kahler captures it, *Man* as the measure, rather than *Men.* Adolescents biologically and psychologically are concerned with man as the unit and with *the human condition*—past, present, and future. A cursory glance at present social studies materials indicates that they are predominantly concerned with a multiplicity of men and with what they do (most of the work in local, state, and Federal government, for example), rather than with man and who he is or was.

A good exposition of this matter has been given by Professor V. Gordon Childe in *Man Makes Himself.*

> The business of the historian would be to bring out the essential and significant in the long and complex series of events with which he is confronted. But to distinguish and unpick the thread of progress, if such there be, running through history requires a view of history very different from that set out in the formal textbooks. . . . In the first place, a long and wide view is essential. When short periods or confined regions alone are surveyed [Greek history, Renaissance, American Revolution, World War I, etc.], the multiplicity of separate events is likely to obscure any underlying pattern.[7]

5. Adolescent social responsibility would be likely to increase if students were better helped to come more consistently to grips with the big problem of our century—the struggle of free governments to remain free in a world of increasing Communist domination, and of millions of uncommitted people who are starting to

commit themselves. This problem worries young people, and in the meantime, life in school studies goes along much as it always has, as though the problem did not exist.

Experimental Programs in the Civic Education of Adolescents

This section of the chapter suggests certain major elements for experimental programs proposed in view of the discussion in the previous sections. General features of two kinds of programs are presented here. These programs are intended to reduce anxiety in adolescents concerning social responsibility and the studies that pertain to education for citizenship in free societies.

THE IDEA OF A SMALL STUDENT-FACULTY COMMUNITY

A small student-faculty community of 200 students which would stay intact for two or three years would constitute the matrix for a new, more effective design of adolescent civic education in the high school.[8] Teachers, community-resource people, students, and parents would be in continuous relationship; and the major effort would be to increase individual identity, promote a broad liberal education, fundamental values, and a design for living in an unknown, hazardous future. The unit would have maximum leeway for curriculum experimentation, which would be devoted to the study of the sciences, communication, humanities, and social studies. Specific aspects of operating this small community would include:

a. A cross-section student body of "average" high school students—approximately 95-115 in I.Q. We now attempt special programs for the very gifted and for retarded students. We know that specially designed programs are successful with these groups. An imaginative program is needed for the group that constitutes the bulk of the new generation—the middle group in mental ability. This is the group that may hold the key to future American culture. We know the motivational level of this group is fairly low (regard-

not see, or care, and the result is a very low interest rating in the school's important subjects. Courses such as those above are usually presented in such fragments that student interest is soon diluted through having to remember so much that *seems* so unrelated and inconsequential. Underlying patterns do not come clear to a student; man and the great revolutions *in his development* (including prehistory) do not become the central imagery. Except for a few students, then, the social studies and humanities are drudgery, instead of a springboard into an exciting quest of self-discovery in the human family.

Adolescents can relate better to instruction which emphasizes, as Erich Kahler captures it, *Man* as the measure, rather than *Men*. Adolescents biologically and psychologically are concerned with man as the unit and with *the human condition*—past, present, and future. A cursory glance at present social studies materials indicates that they are predominantly concerned with a multiplicity of men and with what they do (most of the work in local, state, and Federal government, for example), rather than with man and who he is or was.

A good exposition of this matter has been given by Professor V. Gordon Childe in *Man Makes Himself*.

> The business of the historian would be to bring out the essential and significant in the long and complex series of events with which he is confronted. But to distinguish and unpick the thread of progress, if such there be, running through history requires a view of history very different from that set out in the formal textbooks. . . . In the first place, a long and wide view is essential. When short periods or confined regions alone are surveyed [Greek history, Renaissance, American Revolution, World War I, etc.], the multiplicity of separate events is likely to obscure any underlying pattern.[7]

5. Adolescent social responsibility would be likely to increase if students were better helped to come more consistently to grips with the big problem of our century—the struggle of free governments to remain free in a world of increasing Communist domination, and of millions of uncommitted people who are starting to

commit themselves. This problem worries young people, and in the meantime, life in school studies goes along much as it always has, as though the problem did not exist.

Experimental Programs in the Civic Education of Adolescents

This section of the chapter suggests certain major elements for experimental programs proposed in view of the discussion in the previous sections. General features of two kinds of programs are presented here. These programs are intended to reduce anxiety in adolescents concerning social responsibility and the studies that pertain to education for citizenship in free societies.

THE IDEA OF A SMALL STUDENT-FACULTY COMMUNITY

A small student-faculty community of 200 students which would stay intact for two or three years would constitute the matrix for a new, more effective design of adolescent civic education in the high school.[8] Teachers, community-resource people, students, and parents would be in continuous relationship; and the major effort would be to increase individual identity, promote a broad liberal education, fundamental values, and a design for living in an unknown, hazardous future. The unit would have maximum leeway for curriculum experimentation, which would be devoted to the study of the sciences, communication, humanities, and social studies. Specific aspects of operating this small community would include:

a. A cross-section student body of "average" high school students—approximately 95-115 in I.Q. We now attempt special programs for the very gifted and for retarded students. We know that specially designed programs are successful with these groups. An imaginative program is needed for the group that constitutes the bulk of the new generation—the middle group in mental ability. This is the group that may hold the key to future American culture. We know the motivational level of this group is fairly low (regard-

ing the substance of this chapter). We need to find out if a quite different school day would alter this condition.

b. The small learning community would be placed in large metropolitan high schools of 2,500, since this is about the standard size of today's schools.

c. The academic part (only one part) of living in this community would be flexibly arranged for grouping suitable for specific purposes.

d. The community or village unit would regard its day as starting at 8:30 A.M. and ending at about 5:00 P.M. The elements of life in the day would include: classroom study, supervised individual study, recreation, work assignments in physical-plant maintenance and food handling, and assignments during the week involving responsibility in community social, cultural, and governmental institutions or business and industry. Everyone would have a job to do in relation to the welfare of the "small school," and a job to do in the community. And there would be ample time for academic study.

e. In the academic program, a major emphasis would be the further development of free democratic institutions and their positive programs for relations with other countries. Students would spend large amounts of time studying the system and motivation complex in Communist countries and countries with large populations of uncommitted people, such as Africa.

f. The social studies program would be based mainly on major concepts and problems regarding man's development—such concepts as freedom, individualism, authority, superstition, and social organization. American and World History, current events, sociology, anthropology, and government would be studied through all three years.

g. The "elective" program would be very minimal. Not all classes would meet for the fifty-minute hour. A flexible set-up would permit shorter and longer classes, depending on their goals. Some discussion-study experiences could exist for only six weeks, while others might last two years. This kind of flexibility can be attained in planning a three-year schedule for a continuing group of 200 students.

h. Each group of 200 would have eight or ten talented adults

from the community assigned to it, mainly for instructional purposes, not merely as "aides" or test correctors. These people would spend a few hours a week in instructional programs with students and teachers.

i. Each group would have a panel of leaders in community life responsible for operating the work-assignment program in community institutions. On the average, a student would spend six hours a week in such assignments. The teachers each would have several counselees to look after in relation to their program of study, jobs at school, and jobs in the community.

j. Activities of many sorts connected with the school's main purposes would continue on Saturday mornings—even possibly fortnightly classes. Not all staff would have to be present at such times.

k. Twice each month, or more, all students and staff would meet in the school at night in a general "village" session for intellectual purposes, to increase the sense of common destiny.

l. Teachers would start with a ninth-grade group and move with them through the eleventh grade.

*An Idea for Innovation**

To lend further concreteness to a discussion of new perspectives in research and action on youth development and citizenship education, we present in brief a description of an innovation in high school practice that appears strategically feasible, capable of widespread adoption, and, we hope, intrinsically worth while.

Two comments seem warranted at this point. One comment is that, while there are notable exceptions among American secondary schools, present high school programs of civic education are less effective than the times and the future demand. The other comment is that the regular program structure of American high schools tends toward institutionalized rigidity and relative impermeability to change.

These two observations have led us to doubt that creative and

*This section was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Patterson.

satisfactory innovations in the education of youth as citizens, badly needed as innovations may be, can be readily and directly installed on a significant scale or lasting basis in programs of the regular high school year. With this reservation in mind—and it is certainly not a happy one—we have speculated about other possibilities.

It appears that there is one time period in the calendar year in which most high schools on a widespread scale could install substantial innovations with minimum difficulty. This time period is the summer, which is the only unstaked-out part of the high school year where time is available and flexible enough and where educational commitments are sufficiently uncrystallized to make the introduction of change both feasible and unthreatening. An innovation in civic education geared to the summer period could in itself add a significant new dimension to the total high school program. In addition, we think that worth-while features of a new summer curriculum in citizenship study and participation could influence civic education in the regular school-year program.

For these reasons, it seems to us that serious consideration should be given to planning, initiating, and testing civic education innovations suited to the summer period over a span of several years. The balance of this chapter *(a)* suggests a basic assumption on which one kind of summer innovation might rest, and *(b)* tentatively sketches for illustrative purposes the design and content which a summer program might have.

A GENERAL ASSUMPTION

Underlying the innovation that we will describe is a general assumption about educational practice and the problem of citizenship training for youth. This assumption may be stated tentatively as follows:

That a six-week summer school program for eleventh-graders which integrates civic education components in an all-day experience will enable individual development of transferable knowledge, perceptual frameworks, skills, and behaviors needed for civic competence in a democratically oriented society more adequately

than the development which occurs in usual twelfth-grade educational programs.

The educational components to be integrated in a summer program of civic education at the end of the eleventh grade might include the following:

1. *An intensive study of selected problems drawn from crucial socio-civic areas of modern life.*

   Aim: Not only to give students increments of significant knowledge and information, but much more especially to provide rigorous experience in the use of problem-solving approaches to characteristic major dilemmas and issues of our socio-civic world. This component of the summer program would involve learnings that are transferable to the continuing requirements of competent, self-directing citizenship. Such learnings would include and derive from practice in diagnosing problems, in the collection and treatment of evidence, in generalizing, and in the continuing evaluation of formulations, data, and conclusions.
2. *A study of representative problems of the community's socio-civic life, utilizing problem-solving approaches to empirically derived data.*

   Aim: Not only to develop greater awareness of the complex adult socio-civic community and its relationships, but to provide further learning of transferable perceptual frameworks, skills, and behaviors relevant to effective citizenship.
3. *Performance of needed work service in school and community.*

   Aim: To do work of immediately recognizable social value, providing adolescents with a sense of shared social responsibility and a reality base for a self-imagery of citizenship transferable to adult civic life relationships.
4. *Self-government: participation in the planning and management of the summer program.*

   Aim: Through individual and group self-direction within as flexible limits as feasible, to provide students with further reality testing of fundamental processes related to the sharing of power in social relations, on the premise that the best way to *learn* to share power and face the problems of democratic interaction is to share some power and face the problems.
5. *Opportunities for recreation and social activities.*

TENTATIVE DESIGN AND CONTENT OF A SUMMER PROGRAM

Summer programs in civic education, even those that might be based on the general assumption we have stated, could take a number of different forms. Here, for discussion purposes, we would like to sketch tentatively a design and content that might make sense. The following are features that an illustrative example of an actual program might have.

1. *Designation and general orientation.* This innovation would be intended to provide, for students who had completed their eleventh year in school, a situation in which to accomplish in the summer the equivalent of at least a one-semester course in the social studies. The new summer program could be construed either as an enrichment of regular social studies or as a substitute for one semester of the "Modern Problems" or "Problems of Democracy" type of course commonly found in the twelfth grade. We would view the program as providing the possibility of a sharp change-point in the maturing of boys and girls as citizens. On the other hand, we do not offer the new program as a panacea or as a wholesale substitute for other phases of citizenship education.

Instead of using customary course designations, the new program might better be referred to as the "Summer Institute in American Studies," or as the "Summer Program in Public Affairs," or by another name that would suit local purposes. In any case, the designation perhaps should reflect the fact that the program's general orientation would be considerably different from that of a regular school-year hourly course.

The general orientation of the program would be toward the integration of a variety of learning experiences which would result in knowledge-acquisition and development of perceptual frameworks, skills, and behaviors transferable to ongoing citizenship performance, in which social responsibility and self-direction would be reflected. These experiences would not depend upon a read-recite-quiz formula, or be restricted only to a pattern of study and social recitation or discussion. The new program should provide multiple opportunities for gaining information, diagnosing socio-civic problems, collecting and analyzing data, engaging in

reflective thinking, playing a part in individual and group problem-solving activities, making decisions at a variety of levels, performing socially needed work, directly participating in aspects of community life, and having responsible social interaction with peers and adults.

The general style of the new summer program would draw from the experience of several kinds of well-known educational and group-work patterns. To some extent, the program would reflect the experience we have had in the adult workshop movement, in the Encampment for Citizenship, in the work-camp activities of the American Friends Service Committee, and in the youth conferences of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Certainly, too, the general orientation of the new summer program should be guided by the exceptional citizenship education practices in certain public and private schools mentioned in the earlier background chapters of this study, and by the findings of previous citizenship education studies.

2. *Duration and schedule.* The new summer program would operate for a period of six weeks. Its daily time requirements would, in a sense, resemble those of a day camp, although its content would be quite different. Boys and girls would participate in the program four and one-half days per week, on full days using both morning and afternoon, and taking lunch together on campus all five days. Academic phases of the program, including time for study and research, would occur in the morning period. Field work, community participation, and recreational activities would take place in the afternoon period.

3. *Student personnel.* During a pilot demonstration, each participating school would perhaps enroll a limit of sixty boys and girls in the program. Boys and girls would be admitted at first who were considered to have potentialities that the program might tap more effectively than would be the case in regular course work. An equal number of boys and girls would be enrolled.

4. *Staff personnel.* Regular staff personnel in a given school's program would include three people. Two of these, a man and a woman, would be members of the high school faculty. The third staff person would be a member of a college or university faculty with a background in the social sciences or humanities. These

adults would serve as teachers, guides, and consultants for the student group.

In addition to the regular adult staff, the program in a participating school would ask local civic leaders, public servants, politicians, representatives of labor and management, or others to act as voluntary consultants and resource persons as occasion indicated.

5. *Individual and group work.* Study and participant activities would involve students in a variety of roles and situations. In certain activities (*e.g.*, in connection with the acquisition of common informational background on problem areas under study), the entire group might meet as a whole for lectures, films, or other presentations. More common would be activities undertaken in smaller groups (*e.g.*, discussion, problem solving, and field trips). Such groups would vary in size from pairs of students to groups as large as twenty or more. In all group activities, including those considered instructional, the program would seek to maximize individual student opportunity for experience in a variety of roles with differential responsibility levels. Independent study and individual work by students would be encouraged, with time made available for this purpose.

6. *Instruction and study.* In the pilot phase, participating schools might establish programs in which at least one third of the available time was directly devoted to instructional and study purposes. The subject matter of instruction and study would be of two basic, related types: that arising out of certain overriding problems of modern life beyond the immediate community, and that arising out of the socio-civic reality of the community itself.

In the six-week sequence, for example, students might study problems drawn from such crucial areas as the following:

1. Human development: the past and future of the human situation.
2. War, peace, and international relations.
3. The nature and issues of economic life.
4. Race and minority-group relations.
5. Maintaining and extending democratic values.
6. Personal integrity and character.

Study of specific issues drawn from such areas would be planned cooperatively by staff and students. Staff would have especial

responsibility for helping make available concepts, principles, and relevant data from the humanities and the social sciences, including sociology, psychology, and anthropology. Particular emphasis in all study and instruction would be placed on utilizing inductive reasoning, the scientific method, and reflective thinking to analyze issues and appraise the consequences of their alternative resolutions, on the premise that the insights and skills of these basic processes are transferable to a majority of citizenship life-situations. This emphasis would be implemented by problem-centered group investigations, individual research, and the study of logical operations. For their study of problems from these crucial areas, students would be supplied with relevant nonfiction materials, with access to literature and art, and with opportunities for direct experience with meaningful situations and people with relevant information or background.

7. *Work service and field study.* Individuals and teams of students would take on as much of the maintenance and housekeeping work of the program as feasible. In addition, teams or perhaps the whole student group would undertake an important task of community service (*e.g.*, rehabilitating a community center, replanting an erosion area, or building a trail or check dam) to be completed by the close of the summer session. Work service might well involve physical work; the main community work projects should be ones that are genuinely needed, which can be finished, and whose accomplishment will result in visible and lasting community improvement. Students should be given as many differential roles of responsibility in work service as conditions permit.

Parallel to, and sometimes coinciding with, the problems approach sketched in the preceding section, students would spend a part of their time in analyzing and reaching generalizations about the socio-civic life of their own community. The major source of data for this process might be the students' direct experience in community field study and work service during the afternoons. Among the aims of this phase of study would be determining a social, political, and economic profile of the community, diagnosing some of its socio-civic problems, and gaining practice in decision making with regard to civic action, again on

the assumption that frames of reference and skills learned through such experience are broadly transferable in citizenship. In addition to field study and work service, students could gain needed data from available documentary sources, from community leaders, from a study of themselves and their own families, and from other sources.

Pairs of students would undertake collection of information on special aspects of civic affairs; group field trips would be planned; and other procedures noted earlier would be followed to acquire data about the nature of the community and its needs. Field study would be planned around specific problems chosen for investigation.

8. *Self-government.* A consistent element of the program should be provision for student participation in the planning and management of the work in which they were involved. This has been touched on above, but is emphasized here as a key feature of the entire summer program. A feasible maximum of student self-government would be aimed at in terms of establishing and maintaining acceptable standards of conduct, of reaching decisions about common concerns and courses of action, and so forth. The program would recognize that self-government in group life involves differential levels of responsibility; *e.g.*, varying capacities for leadership, varying capabilities to conform and adjust to decisions, and varying capacities to exercise and withstand pressures. In accordance with individual characteristics, the program would seek to provide students with an optimum range of personal experience in self-government at appropriate levels of capability. Direct examination of the reasons for differential roles and role assignments in the process of group self-government would be a part of the experience for students.

9. *Recreation and social activities.* The new summer program would make daily provision for recreation and appropriate social activities in which all students and staff could participate. Both individual and group recreational opportunities would be arranged, with art, music, crafts, drama, and sports and games as possibilities. Social activities would be for the whole group, usually, and would include parties, dances, picnics, sings, and the like. Planning and

managing these functions would largely be a student responsibility, with staff participation and supervision.

10. *The summer program subculture.* The innovation we have tentatively described would be intended to create a temporary subculture in which civic education would be induced and reinforced by a variety of means. To some extent, the new summer program would be "a cultural island" or a "community of learning." It would be expected that the subculture of the program would acquire its own special character, with which participants would identify and in whose morale they would share. At the same time, we hope that the conception of the summer program would not be insular, but would be connected by many bridges to the mainland of the community and the world.

The character of the new summer program as a subculture, however, deserves especial emphasis if our description is to be adequate. For example, the program would explicate the values of social responsibility and self-direction in its total operation, informal and formal, reflective and experimental. The cultural setting of the summer program would involve youth in experimentation with learning and participant roles closely related to adult socio-civic reality. In the process of self-government and work service, realistic problems of status differentiation would have to be faced and rationalized. The comprehensive life of the program would acknowledge that social interaction of adolescents with one another and of adolescents with adults has a lot to do with what we call education. The program at best would feature norms of interaction that denote acceptance, mutual tolerance of difference, independence-interdependence, and related factors. Out of all these things, it would be expected that the new summer program would have a cultural climate of its own, in which individuals would grow in their capacity for independence and in their capacity to relate competently to immediate and more distant social reality.

A CLOSING WORD ABOUT THIS IDEA

In closing, we repeat a basic caution and reservation. While this tentative description may sound as though it is intended to

be all-encompassing and overpacked with content and activity beyond what a six-week program can realistically accomplish, we do not think of it either as a substitute for the rest of secondary education or as full of things as it may sound. The essential quality of this innovation, we hope, would be not in its comprehensiveness but in its stimulation of youth development toward civic maturity; not in its quantified presentation of knowledge, but in its raising of questions and suggestion of procedures for tackling them.

NOTES

1. *The Tower and the Abyss: An Inquiry into the Transformation of the Individual.* New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1957.
2. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1950. See also Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History.* W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1958.
3. Gerald Pearson, *Adolescence and the Conflict of Generations.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1958. Chapter 8, "The Adjustment of the Adolescent to the Social Organization."
4. "Segregation: New Style." *The School Review,* Autumn, 1958.
5. In his outline of "eight stages of man."
6. Pearson, *op. cit.,* p. 145.
7. New York: The American Library of World Literature, Inc. (A Mentor Book), 1951, p. 11.
8. This is not the same concept as the currently used "teaching team" idea that usually refers to two or more adults teaching a particular subject to the same group of students. The present discussion is based partly on the concept of the teaching team and "small school" community conceptualized originally by Hubert Armstrong, Professor of Education, The Claremont Graduate School.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

New Directions in Research on Adolescent Education and Citizenship

ROBERT CHIN

TITLES OF PAPERS OPERATE EITHER AS SOCIAL CONTRACTS between the author and the reader, or as Mother Hubbards. You will remember that the missionaries introduced to South Sea islanders a large, voluminous gown called a Mother Hubbard, intended to cover completely the form, figure, and structure. A "Mother Hubbard" title, then, is a title which covers everything and shows nothing. I feel the same way about the title of this chapter. One advantage of this ambiguity, however, is that I have elbow room to say what I think it would be useful to say. I am going to avoid stating a specific definition of citizenship or its manifestations in attitude, personality, or behavior, but refer to the activities and attributes which relate to the individual's role in

the management of affairs of a personal, group, community, national, and international nature of which he is a part.

Research on adolescent education and citizenship involves a need for basic studies of what the adolescent is like, what influences him, and how he moves into adulthood. I would like to propose two types of studies that offer new directions on this subject. The first, reasons for which will be apparent later, I am going to call the "cross-sectional in time" type of study. I am going to refer to the second as "longitudinal studies of change." These involve some longitudinal period of time, rather than a mere cross-sectional slice or moment.

New directions in research will also require new directions in theories, new conceptual frameworks, and some fresh concepts and measurement scales for the analysis of adolescents and education.

First of all, we are in some degree of agreement in our present knowledge about the adolescent: that the problem of the search for identity, a problem we all face as persons, is heightened and sharpened for the adolescent. Furthermore, present social philosophers and social science observers agree that the pressures of changing modes of behavior and of world events in constant flux make us feel that more and more of the control over our own fate is removed from our hands. The interdependent complexities of the world thrust themselves into our relations to other persons, to the economic world, to education and educational systems, to practically all aspects of living, and have introduced a tone of helplessness and at times desperation into our effort to maintain some degree of identity. Increasingly our fate, our successes, and especially our failures are viewed as something determined by large organizational structures, bureaucracies, or the impersonal world which we vaguely call "the system," grinding us down as mere pawns. In such an atmosphere, it is not surprising that thinkers in democratic societies strive to reiterate the worth of individual personality and development. In this country we find psychologists trying to identify the drive for autonomy and self-actualization; in Europe we witness the rise and spread of the existentialist movement as a philosophy of life for contemporary living.

Psychologists and sociologists have pointed to the fact that a

search for identity is an inherent developmental phase in the biosocial maturation of a person. Thus even in more stable or in more clearly structured societies, this problem of identity is one all adolescents have to cope with before entering adulthood. In our society, where there is a greater fluidity in social structure and a high toleration for ambiguities, discontinuities, and inconsistencies in role identification, even adults find the problem of maintaining individual identity a perplexing one. For the adolescents in our society, then, the problem is thus compounded: to their developmental need for individual identity is added the more general search for personal entity in the adult world.

We ordinarily make two assumptions in our studies and practices relevant to the adolescent and his period of life. First, the behaviors of this period can be viewed as both preparation for and actual performance in adult roles. Action programs of training and education are geared to "close the gap" between adolescents and adults. In extreme cases, we try to make "little adults" of the youngsters. Or second, the behaviors of this period may be viewed as distinctly different from those of the adult and as serving other purposes. The extreme form of this view might be: "Let them have fun—they will have to settle down." Of course, the two assumptions are not incompatible and need to be used simultaneously. We would probably agree that the first assumption is ultimately more relevant to educators, and that the second is instrumental to the first. Let us follow the second position, an emphasis on separateness, a bit more.

Sociologists have said that many of the values of our youth culture are in opposition to, or at least in discontinuity with, the values of adult culture and that this is a fairly unique phenomenon in American society as compared to other cultures. If this is true, then the quest for identity of self acts to reinforce the phenomenon of youth culture, since youth culture is an important instrument for achieving identity, for finding a significant self through the definition provided by the peer group.

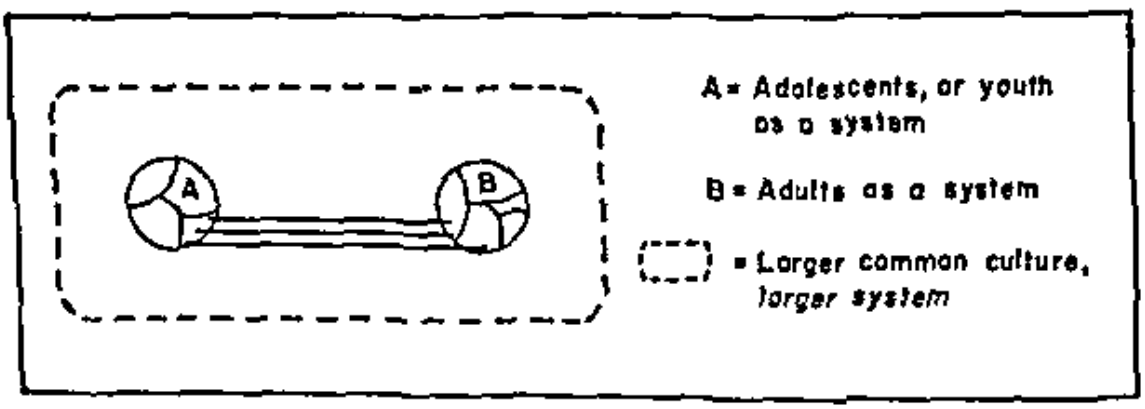
We could further postulate that the norms, roles, and definitions of a situation in a youth culture act to define the boundaries of the social system of youth and to resist the intrusions and influences of the adult world and the formal system. This function of the

youth culture holds true, whether we study a gang or a clique, in schools, social-service settlement houses, neighborhood houses, or in any other setting.

An approach to the social system of youth in relation to that of the adult world may provide us with a conceptual leverage for the examination of youth activities in citizenship affairs. This approach raises the question of the degree of influence and the kind of procedure which can be exerted by adults in the social system of youth.*

We can consider the question with the help of a conceptual model of intersystem relations; that is, a theory which directly takes into account the fact that there may be two systems in interaction, in this case, the adult and the youth social systems, and which tries to understand the relations and the dynamics of relationship in terms of two units, systems "A" and "B." Furthermore, this conceptual model allows us to understand what happens inside the system as a function of intersystem relations and vice versa.

Diagrammatically, this approach can be charted in terms of two differentiated and complex systems in interaction with each other:



With such an approach, we can "plug in" variables or factors which are of particular concern. The intersystem analysis brings sharply to our attention that the social systems of youth and adults are differentiated into parts and that we can examine part-to-part, part-to-system, system-to-system relations.

*Some studies suggest that youth do welcome adult guidance in special membership roles. The adult must stand available for help, but must not be too intrusive. For example, after much research, the Boy Scouts in their new Ranger program cast the adult leader in the new role of consultant or technical resource person.

Let me illustrate what such an approach would mean in a study of the dynamics of leadership, whether in race relations, labor management, or an adolescent's membership in the student body, his role of leadership in this group, and his role in relation to the faculty adviser, who is in turn the representative of another system, the school administration. When the student leader or youth leader enters into negotiation with an adult leader, the two form a new subsystem in their relation to each other. Simultaneous analysis of the dynamics of relationship needs to take into account constantly the fact that the student must maintain his membership standing in his own reference group. It is possible that a student leader can become a "captive" leader, divorced from his own system of youth, and a representative not of the students, but of the adult system. A similar analysis of the adult and his system of forces is possible.

Another problem which is exposed by a theory of intersystem relations is the problem of power ratio or balance between the two systems in their relationships. Power is defined here as the perceived ability to influence a course of events. The power balance between student leaders and students in relation to faculty and the school administration may be clear and well-defined, may be symmetrical in some areas, or asymmetrical, unevenly balanced, or even completely lopsided. The type of reactions of one group to the other group, I am sure we will agree, will be quite different in each case. Some intriguing analogies might be drawn between these adult-youth phenomena and the relationships which colonial powers have to their colonies or newly released colonies, or the relationships between the United States and dependent-aid colonies.

The reality of the power balance for adolescents is that some areas and kinds and varying degrees of power must be in the hands of adult leaders. But such an analysis may lead us to a strategy of action. The conscious awareness of this problem on the part of the leaders with the high power may make them decide to encourage deliberately the amount of power that the student leaders have and, if necessary, in restricted areas, in order to allow for a productive intersystem relationship.

Direct acknowledgment that there is a difference in amount of power, a clear definition of the power responsibilities of each,

and a setting of the limits of power would be accepted by the adolescent. Frequently it is the ambiguity of the power balance which is at fault.

We shall not produce responsible conditions for the development of citizenship potentials in the individual until we examine the intersystem qualities in our institutions; in youth culture versus adult culture; in student governments, student organizations, and student activities in relation to the administration. In our society, programs of education are multipurposed: they seek to provide valuable experiences directly to close the gap between youth and the adult world, and to use those we train to affect other adolescents and their youth culture.

A concrete research project suggested here is a study of the personality and culture of the youth of a high school, focusing on the social system of youth in relation to the formal administrative and faculty system. An illustration of a specific question to ask might be: What happens to the student who is rewarded by the adult system for manifesting behavior in line with *our* criteria of effective citizenship—does he become redefined in his relationship with other students? The Syracuse studies show that students are *adept in identifying their peers who are high in citizenship* dimensions; but what happens to such "citizens" in their relations with other students?

Let us take just one of the elements that some agree should be incorporated into citizenship education: concepts from sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Are we saying that the concept of social class should be taught to twelfth-, tenth-, or eighth-graders? At what stage do we think a youngster should see the class position of his family, his father, and his own possible limitations? Don't we need some notion of the developmental stages of youngsters and some diagnosis of their readiness for such ideas and theories? Or consider the concept of culture. Culture implies some relativity, some safeguard against ethnocentricism. Again, at what stage is a youngster ready for, and are we willing to have him gain, some relativistic moral norms? Anthropologists and social philosophers are not in agreement about cultural norms of behavior and moral values. Under what conditions is *such discussion for adolescents* possible and fruitful? When the adolescent is learning about sexual

patterns or religious values? Or again, some have suggested that the adolescent should learn about psychodynamic defense mechanisms of personality. But at what stage of growth and under what circumstances?

These questions are open to empirical study. Researches should be designed to test the consequences of such ideas at various levels of ego development and maturity. We probably should start on college classes, where such concepts already are taught, before moving to adolescents.

It is useful to talk more specifically about *types* of adolescent citizenship behavior, rather than attempting generalizations about all of the activities of youth. A survey of the available data and of expert opinion would probably show at least four types of adolescent citizenship. Type A is represented by the youth who is highly active in school management activities and civic or public affairs. Type A comprises the "committed"; Type B, the high-potential youth; Type C, the uninvolved and passive youth; Type D, the anomic. We have research information about Type A and Type D. The evaluation studies by Hyman and Wright and Riecken are almost solely about Type A, due to youth self-selection and administrative selection by the sponsors of the participants in these special summer experiences.* Delinquents, youth gangs, street-corner societies, the individuals who are relatively structureless, and the isolates lumped together in Type D have been studied under the impetus of recent crises. In the present typology, we may recognize the distortion and the forced quality of Type D; however, Type D is useful for present purposes as a residual category. This fourfold (or any other number) typology should be used as a basis for building hypotheses, and must, of course, eventually be validated through empirical research.

Some practical and descriptive problems immediately raise themselves. For example, given the criteria of classification, what are the relative proportions of each type of behavior? How do

*See H. H. Hyman and C. R. Wright, *Youth in Transition: An Evaluation of the Contribution of the Encampment for Citizenship to the Education of Youth.* New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1956. (Mimeographed) See also H. W. Riecken, Jr., *Volunteer Work-Camp: A Psychological Evaluation.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press, 1952.

these distribute along lines of social class, religious and ethnic backgrounds, socially mobile college aspirants, and so forth?

In analyzing factors associated with these types, personality variables or attributes in interaction with situations need to be outlined. Sanford in Chapter Ten suggests an orientation to these interactions that can be useful. We may measure personality attributes X, Y, Z (see chart, p. 343) to give high, medium, or low states of each. We may place persons in an identifiable variety of situations, 1, 2, 3. These situations may be embedded in four analytically distinct levels: the personal-interpersonal relations level, the level of small face-to-face groups, the community level, and the level of national-international relationships. For example, if the personality attribute of authoritarianism is used, high, medium, and low authoritarians may be placed in situations involving interpersonal, small-group, community, and national-international relationships. We may measure changes with regard to values, motivational-emotional, cognitive, and action systems. While these statements are here put in terms of action program and causes, the same model (see chart) may also be used for correlative and statistical studies.

From this paradigm, we can construct hypotheses for research. So little is known about adolescents and the stages, or phases, of this time period that many kinds of data would be extremely useful. From the practitioner's viewpoint, Sanford's suggestion for using overdetermination is eminently sensible; that is, to place persons with a personality proneness for a given direction in situations that either increase or reinforce these tendencies in the desired direction.

The values of the practitioner-educator, drawn from the desired goals of his profession, the society or culture, religious ideology, or other sources of validation, are paramount in shaping the paradigm for both practical and scientific purposes. We have to decide what we want our youth to be like and the degree to which we can influence them before we can make any analysis or research significant.

One important aspect of the cognitive system of adolescents relevant to citizenship activities is how an individual perceives the management possibilities of social processes. Involved intimately

Chart for Locating the Relationship of Variables in Research on Citizenship Behavior

VARIABLES IN ACTION

Personality Attributes (X, Y, Z)*

High X
Medium X
Low X

Put subject into

Situation (1, 2, 3)†

Situation 1
Situation 2
Situation 3

For any situation then we may measure at level of

LEVELS AND MEASUREMENTS

Conceptual Level

Personal-Interpersonal
Small group
Community
National
International

We can then assess

Types of Variables to Assess

Values
Motivation
Cognitions
Action systems

* For example,
X = Authoritarianism
Y = Ethnocentrism
Z = Ego structure, etc.

† For example,
1 = Structured curriculum
2 = Unstructured social service
3 = Peer government, etc.

with this is the perception of his own place in the management.

How does the adolescent learn about how things get done and what causes things to get done? In psychology, we have called this the perceived causality which individuals carry around with them. In his studies, Fritz Heider shows that there is a phenomenological perception of causation and that the way we hook up others' intentions, the ways things seem to get done, and what seems to cause other people's actions, make a large difference in our reaction to them.

I am going beyond the theory developed by Heider and his associates to suggest that adolescents learn about causation, about other people's personal processes, about social processes, about institutional processes of policy formation, and so on, from history and from direct involvement with processes of social change and participation in day-to-day experiences. People develop schemata in their cognitive system about the world, its problems and diagnoses, potential remedies, and the role of individuals in them. Adults seem to have a more or less favorite mode of diagnosing situations, prescribing action, and assigning themselves a part in situational events. Coleman's suggestion of the use of simulation games for strategy and diagnosis training fits well here. We have been studying this generalized attribute of adults at the Boston University Human Relations Center to determine dimensions of a mode of diagnosis and whatever related prescription or lack of it people use. Historians, psychiatrists, economists, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, and educators all give us explanations of what is going on in a given situation. But what does a particular person choose as his own explanation? Does he have a typically preferred explanation? Does he have a typical prescription or remedy? What place is given to various techniques of personal or group action?

Given some degree of optimism and the idealism of youth, how does the adolescent sort out the inconsistencies and ambiguities of the world? The adolescent period is a period when values and ideals inculcated by the school, church, and home start to meet up with the complexities of "real" adult action and inaction.

Now let us look back to the assumption that adolescence is a period of transition into young adulthood. What kinds of educa-

tional experience would we suggest need fresh study and action programs? In order to answer this, we must examine our current theories of change.

In social and psychological theory, we have only a few models for analyzing the development of a process over time. Typical modes of analysis are the identification of developmental stages, as in the psychosexual developmental stages that Freud outlined, or in descriptions of average behavior patterns, as in child development. Yet we must go beyond the descriptive statements of what adolescents do in developmental stages to an explanatory analysis of the process of development. What are the processes, in other words, which produce change in adolescents and make them into adults of varying kinds?

As I have said, we possess very few ways of analyzing the process of change. Even more serious, we have very few ways of analyzing the process of *changing* the adolescent's process of development. We do not really know how we can, as guiders and steerers, step in to alter the process and what the effects will be. We have very little conceptual knowledge which could guide our research so as to be helpful to education, and indeed to all social practice.*

Because cross-sectional analyses have been the most popular, the analysis we have neglected most in the whole area of sociology and psychology is the problem of processes of change. Recent discussions in sociological literature again raise the question of this neglect; they raise especially the question with which many of the founding fathers in psychology and sociology were concerned: how to effect changes, how to bring about changes, how to intervene, how to step into the social process and exert directing, steering, guiding, and shaping of the direction and process of change which is going on.

I appeal, therefore, for a set of studies of change over time. First, we need to identify descriptively the kinds of different behavior patterns, attributes, and activities typical of different age

*I am indebted to the Pro-Seminar in Human Relations conducted by the Boston University Human Relations Center, directed by Kenneth D. Benne, which has been discussing this question with a multidisciplinary and multiprofessional staff.

with this is the perception of his own place in the management.

How does the adolescent learn about how things get done and what causes things to get done? In psychology, we have called this the perceived causality which individuals carry around with them. In his studies, Fritz Heider shows that there is a phenomenological perception of causation and that the way we hook up others' intentions, the ways things seem to get done, and what seems to cause other people's actions, make a large difference in our reaction to them.

I am going beyond the theory developed by Heider and his associates to suggest that adolescents learn about causation, about other people's personal processes, about social processes, about institutional processes of policy formation, and so on, from history and from direct involvement with processes of social change and participation in day-to-day experiences. People develop schemata in their cognitive system about the world, its problems and diagnoses, potential remedies, and the role of individuals in them. Adults seem to have a more or less favorite mode of diagnosing situations, prescribing action, and assigning themselves a part in situational events. Coleman's suggestion of the use of simulation games for strategy and diagnosis training fits well here. We have been studying this generalized attribute of adults at the Boston University Human Relations Center to determine dimensions of a mode of diagnosis and whatever related prescription or lack of it people use. Historians, psychiatrists, economists, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, and educators all give us explanations of what is going on in a given situation. But what does a particular person choose as his own explanation? Does he have a typically preferred explanation? Does he have a typical prescription or remedy? What place is given to various techniques of personal or group action?

Given some degree of optimism and the idealism of youth, how does the adolescent sort out the inconsistencies and ambiguities of the world? The adolescent period is a period when values and ideals inculcated by the school, church, and home start to meet up with the complexities of "real" adult action and inaction.

Now let us look back to the assumption that adolescence is a period of transition into young adulthood. What kinds of educa-

tional experience would we suggest need fresh study and action programs? In order to answer this, we must examine our current theories of change.

In social and psychological theory, we have only a few models for analyzing the development of a process over time. Typical modes of analysis are the identification of developmental stages, as in the psychosexual developmental stages that Freud outlined, or in descriptions of average behavior patterns, as in child development. Yet we must go beyond the descriptive statements of what adolescents do in developmental stages to an explanatory analysis of the process of development. What are the processes, in other words, which produce change in adolescents and make them into adults of varying kinds?

As I have said, we possess very few ways of analyzing the process of change. Even more serious, we have very few ways of analyzing the process of *changing* the adolescent's process of development. We do not really know how we can, as guiders and steerers, step in to alter the process and what the effects will be. We have very little conceptual knowledge which could guide our research so as to be helpful to education, and indeed to all social practice.*

Because cross-sectional analyses have been the most popular, the analysis we have neglected most in the whole area of sociology and psychology is the problem of processes of change. Recent discussions in sociological literature again raise the question of this neglect; they raise especially the question with which many of the founding fathers in psychology and sociology were concerned: how to effect changes, how to bring about changes, how to intervene, how to step into the social process and exert directing, steering, guiding, and shaping of the direction and process of change which is going on.

I appeal, therefore, for a set of studies of change over time. First, we need to identify descriptively the kinds of different behavior patterns, attributes, and activities typical of different age

*I am indebted to the Pro-Seminar in Human Relations conducted by the Boston University Human Relations Center, directed by Kenneth D. Benne, which has been discussing this question with a multidisciplinary and multiprofessional staff.

groups. We need a typology of individuals according to citizenship dimensions. Second, we need to identify the processes that tell us *how* a given bundle of activities gets transformed into a subsequent bundle of activities and attributes. And third, we need to study how we in turn as interveners, educators, social workers, counselors, therapists, or—in Lippitt's phrase—as change-agents, step into and affect the processes which are going on in some commonly understood and valued goal direction. In Chapter Nine, I pointed out the science needed for practitioners. Fourth, we should design an action program to test these ideas.

Within the change-agent role, we probably should be paying more attention to the conditions which promote independence of the person and permit withdrawal of the change-agent. Is it not possible for us to examine whether there is inherent in change in individuals, or possibly to be devised and implanted in change, some self-perpetuating and self-reinforcing process which can continue the development of citizenship manifestations without direct intervention from others? Is it feasible to devise and implant some such process in the early stages of change?

There are two concepts I would like to present as illustrations of these chain-reaction, self-generating notions. The first of these concepts may seem a play on words. I suggest that we should look for the quality called "learning to learn." That is, can we identify what is involved in learning *how* to learn about the management of public affairs and about one's personal role in history or in contemporary social and public affairs? What are the conditions, the motivations, and the processes of learning to learn? We ought to be concerned with the fostering of this crucial capability. Without attempting to present a full design or model of research, I would suggest looking at a sequence of learning experiences to detect any increase in the rate of learning and the factors associated with it.

A second kind of self-momentum chain reactor is found in the conditions of generalizing and applying results to new situations. We can train an adolescent on a given social issue and find that he does not have any way of relating this to other kinds of problems in his society because it is not exactly the same problem as the situation on which he was trained.

We need to examine, then, the ways in which an adolescent conceptualizes and generalizes the experience he has in working in a community and its programs for improvement of relationships between groups. One condition probably is the degree of direct generalization which adult leaders undertake with the adolescents. For instance, going through a struggle of student relationships with the faculty, while good for the soul, can also have some learning value. But unless the students and the faculty are made aware of the similarity to other situations and of some general principles emerging from this situation, thus formally crystallizing their learnings, then the immediate experience is of limited use.

Given this larger framework within which the experience is imbedded, what do we do to provide or identify the cues—to borrow a term from reinforcement theory of learning—that evoke appropriate behavior or show that a new situation belongs to that generalization value or principle? The cues in new situations are not easily discernible. One may have the values, but no cues for identifying situations where the values apply. Helping individuals to identify appropriate cues in new situations would be extremely valuable in making sure that the results of our training and education have some self-propelling and self-activating basis. How can one tell when the rights of others are being violated? How can he tell when management of affairs on a community level requires his participation? Unless we differentiate the cues and appropriate responses, we may create groups on the one hand of low citizenship activity, or on the other hand of social actionists living on a hair-trigger edge of participation, involvement, and alarm.

Continuing in this same line, we need to know the available reinforcers—the rewards or punishments in new settings. In our constructed learning situations, for example as in educational settings, we use the approval of adult authority, but this reinforcer may not always be available in new situations. In fact, we may identify a number of suppressors operating simultaneously in the adolescent and adult cultures. The removal of the reinforcers would allow the suppressors to extinguish the new behaviors or attributes. What are some of the potential self-perpetuating reinforcers in the adolescent, or for that matter in the adult? Is it some satisfaction from participation, or good fellowship, or ideal-

istic fulfillments, or service motivation? Is it a psychic satisfaction —a glow of satisfaction derived from a Judaic-Christian heritage, or an instinctive basis in the motivation system of individuals, an altruism motive, such as Sorokin and others imply exists in individuals? Are there some motivation rewarders to be found in other people, not necessarily in adults, but in the peer group? Aside from our own personal moral or value ideology of good citizenship, are there other self-perpetuating rewarders?

I have discussed some of the kinds of knowledge that we need to develop in order to improve our educational procedures. This knowledge may be acquired from studies of natural settings of adolescents in secondary education. In addition to such studies, we need to pursue further studies of the adolescent in other settings.* Adolescents spend a great deal of time operating in social organizations, teams, and discussion or activity groups. How can we help them to learn leadership roles in these settings? How and where do they learn the interpersonal and role skills that make for effective contributions to the solution of group tasks? What is group maturity in adolescents? Such studies would complement the present focus on the formal educational system. Another set of studies needed to complement our information is concerned with the role of mass media—newspapers, radio, and TV. What do adolescents learn from these sources about the world they live in, and what adolescent self-image develops from such sources? Both of these sets of studies merit serious attention. Time and space do not allow me to develop these research directions here.

Let us now turn to the program innovation proposed in Chapter Twelve. The merits of conducting a research and evaluation program in conjunction with the program innovation need not, I assume, be elaborated at this time. If there are several parallel programs being conducted simultaneously, we have a challenging opportunity to examine the variations in conditions of the programs and to use them as independent variables. With a common research and evaluation program, we can test ideas about new and old procedures and techniques for improving the quality of our

*We have been mounting a project at Boston University to study how the adolescent learns management activities in face-to-face groups.

training and education for adolescents. Measurement instruments for the factors under study should be developed, with due atttention to those used by other investigators so as to maximize comparability. A design of the research and evaluation would be as follows: following a period of instrument design, the participants in each innovation would take part in an initial testing at the beginning of the program. Some testing might well be done before the students are selected. A final testing would be done at the end of the program. After six or nine months, another set of data would be gathered. In addition, some parts of the program might be studied directly as the program proceeds.

I will summarize up to this point by listing the areas in which evaluation and research could usefully be performed, for example, in connection with the innovation in high school summer programs. The areas are chosen on the basis both of educational goals and of relevant hypotheses for evaluation and research.

Area One: Changes in Knowledge, Attitudes, and Values

Knowledge.—We would need to locate or develop instruments which measure the achievement of knowledge in regard to citizenship, whether defined as history of American civilization, contemporary problems, or social, psychological, anthropological, psychiatric, or sociological concepts and data. Perhaps existing achievement tests in history might be used. Or perhaps new instruments would need to be devised to cover the ideas developed in the innovation program for high school summer sessions.

Attitudes.—Social attitudes of the students would need to be measured in regard to a number of dimensions involving local, national, and international isues. These are somewhat traditional areas, and again fresh areas that arise from innovation might be measured in direct fashion. Hyman and Wright's scales would be of use here.

Values.—Among the number of values that one might look at within the larger rubric of citizenship and democratic ideology,

there are several more salient ones that would need to be assessed. Some of the value dimensions which could be assessed are: values in regard to participation in management activities of a school or community; values in regard to the modes of resolving differences among subgroups of a community; and values in regard to achievement of social or personal goals.

Area Two: Changes in the Perceptual Framework of Diagnosis and Action Strategy About Persons, Social Processes, and the World

The perceptual framework of diagnosis of the world that individuals carry with them is basic to citizenship or social performance. We would need an instrument by which to detect the ways in which people *explain how and why things are going as they* are, and what might be done about them.

Area Three: Skills of Generalizing, of Applying Generalization, and of Acting

In our summer high school innovation in citizenship education, we probably would be working at development of skills by which individuals generalize from the immediate situations they are studying and working in to form some conclusions about the world and what might be done about it. We would need, therefore, to assess the techniques of developing such skills of generalization in the students. We would need to look at how youth apply generalizations—for example, at the amount of flexibility and relevance they appear able to achieve. Likewise we would need to assess skills of *acting* in situations, whether in interpersonal relations or in face-to-face group relations, and the skills required to operate effectively and productively in the progress and goal-achievement of such groups. A whole theory system of leadership-followership roles can be invoked here to indicate the kind of behavioral

skills necessary for effective contributions to group solutions and actions. These skills of group relationship, of group roles, of course, are not only trained for in the innovation but are developed in other contexts as well.

Area Four: Behaviors and Activities

We would need to assess and measure behavioral acts and activities of the participants in our high school summer session innovation during, after, and at some interval after the experience.

In assessing the long-range consequences of a program, we would have to face up to the fact that the program itself and its effects on the participants in the program are not all that we intended when we set up the experiment. When we establish a demonstration, pilot, or experimental program, we have in mind, either overtly or subconsciously, the hopeful idea that we may have effects on the whole field of practitioners. We want to achieve the acceptance and spread of the educational innovation. It is worth while to confront directly the range of problems and the kind of researches that need to be done on experimental programs in adolescent education, or for that matter in any field of social practice where we attempt to innovate.

The first obvious group from which research problems emanate are the immediate participants who are directly involved in the program: the students in our work-camps, in our workshops, in our special encampments. A second group are the conductors of the program: the staff, the participating teachers or leaders in the experimental program. Third, we should consider similar professional people who are in a position to adopt or duplicate our program. Fourth, we need to look at other individuals who are in dissimilar positions or other kinds of school situations, but who may borrow elements of our program. Fifth, we need to examine the opposition groups, actual or potential, to our innovation and program.

In discussing sources of important and difficult problems for research in this field, I should like to indicate that they have more general significance than solely for adolescent education and

citizenship. These problems are important for all practitioners engaged in experimental and demonstration projects, whether in agricultural extension work, in technical aid to underdeveloped areas, in experimental treatment programs in mental health, in hospital administration, in organization, or in college innovation. It is surprising to note how rational we seem to assume that other practitioners are. We assume that people will adopt our program in a simple and uncomplicated way, if we only demonstrate that it works.

Of course, a major difference is made to all of these groups if we have conducted evaluations of the effects of the program. Yet there is an in-between level, in which we do not necessarily have to have well-evaluated effects, where the program seems to resonate with expert practitioners. It fits in with their knowledge gained from experience, and they can sit back and say, "Yes, it fits—it seems right—it is worth trying." As researchers, we may want to say to them, "But what are your data for such a conclusion, or for such a policy decision?"; or "Our research data can never catch up with this level of experience and practical judgment." Expert practitioners are able to, and legitimately should, decide to accept a technique, a technology, an innovation, but with conscious rationalizations. Hopefully, at some point they should turn to research to check their judgments, to test their own hunches as to whether or not the program is effective. If this is not done, practice can be overwhelmed with fads and fashions and may succumb to pressures of the moment in adopting or accepting innovations. I would venture to guess that any given group of experienced practitioners can readily scare up more ideas of what could be done, if these are needed. At times it is not the paucity of new ideas that troubles practitioners, but rather the selection of the "right" ideas, and having confidence that existent, tried procedures are worth trying in their own situations.

I am primarily concerned, however, with the spread of innovations in adolescent education which have had some degree of evaluated effects. In regard to the conductors of a program, members of the staff, the participant leaders, and the teachers—we need to do some historical analyses and some case studies of major innovations which have taken hold, major innovations which have

dampened out, major innovations which have folded their tents and stolen away in the night.

For instance, when an experimental program in citizenship education or any related field has its basic initial support removed, when the foundation money runs out or the supporting group diminishes its support or the experiment deliberately is ended, what happens to the people who ran the program? Are their future professional efforts affected by their participation in the program? There are very few studies of how participant-cooperative experiments in education have had long-range effect on the teachers involved. What happens to participating teachers when the experimental project stops, along with the big push from top administration or from the local teachers' college, university, or center, or from a foundation grant?

The diffusion to a group of similar potential conductors, or comparable colleagues in practice, might be looked at first in simple terms. What do they know about the program? What can they find out about it? How clearly did the original sponsors or conductors of the program specify the kinds of participant students in the program so that colleagues know to whom the program was addressed? What would be the comparability of the students of our groups for such an experience? In terms of the background paper on research, we may say that the responsibility of the conductors of the program is to specify the conditions and sample and, as closely as possible, the techniques for others to examine and adopt. Cultural diffusion is easier when it is not only a general idea but also a concrete item of practice for a concrete situation.

There are some indirect and more subtle effects on practitioners in citizenship education which we might well study. First, to paraphrase an advertisement, "They said it couldn't be done, but someone did it." The practitioner may take heart, gain inspiration, and even have his courage restored to see that it can be done somewhere, that something positive is possible. Also I would think a positive new program would set a standard of achievement for others. This standard of achievement becomes part of the perceptual frame of reference—the scale of judgment about what can be done. Further, if the program of education has been carefully researched, it may provide us with the behavioral

manifestations, the criteria, the ways of measuring achievement. One of our greatest difficulties in social behavior and personality development, as compared to physical sciences or mathematics, is that we have no standards of achievement in personality growth or behavioral activities as we have standards of knowledge in mathematics, sciences, languages, and so forth. Would it not be possible for fellow practitioners to gain insight into relevant standards of achievement? Finally, an evaluated program gives hunches and insights to other practitioners as to what might be going on in their own programs of action.

We not only need to look at the conductors of educational programs more or less comparable to ours; we also need to examine the dynamics of diffusion into other positions, settings, or areas which do not have the same freedom of opportunity that we have. For instance, from the idea of a summer-session workshop in citizenship, are there some instructional techniques or modes of thinking about change which we could use in our regular classroom teaching procedures? Or do we find that the procedures are so tightly imbedded in the network of the concepts, of the ideology of the innovators, that any lifting out, any plagiarism, is considered a basic heresy and resisted by the original creators of such an innovation?

What, too, is the nature of the resistance that may be encountered by an innovation, the counterattacking forces, perhaps in Lewin's terms "the negative driving forces," which oppose such a change? Resistance and attacks may come not only from colleagues and practitioners, but from the general public. Resistance to innovation may come from parents' groups or from a demagogue who singles out the program for special attention. We need to anticipate the possibility of these kinds of difficulty and estimate in advance the forces which might attack the innovation. It is too facile to dismiss the opponents of an innovation as merely ignorant or benighted persons. Some skilled and successful practitioners have intuitive awareness of these problems and operate to encapsulate the forces that produce them as early as they can, while fatalistically accepting the probable inevitability of some form of resistance to change.

Some ingenious possibilities exist here for studying the impact

of the program and for analyzing the ways in which more adequate efforts are attempted to spread the effects of the program innovation. Besides case studies and interviews, we propose that a panel of practitioners be periodically interviewed about the program. Let's do a market survey for our product! What information do the members of the panel have; what issues do they see; what attitudes toward the innovation do they develop?

In summary, the knowledge required to improve citizenship education and training can be partially developed through evaluation studies—evaluation built in as an organic part of a program innovation and as providing basic knowledge. Concepts and measuring tools already available in social science can be supplemented by fresh ideas and procedures for study of citizenship education in adolescents.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Discussions at The Andover Conference on New Perspectives in Research

ROBERT M. O'NEIL
and LEONARD WEINER

THIS CHAPTER PRESENTS A SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSIONS that followed the presentation of papers at the invitational conference held at The Andover Inn on January 29-31, 1959, as part of the study reported in this volume. Each of the four main sessions of the conference lasted for a full morning or afternoon. With so many participants of such varied and rich backgrounds, the discussions were many-sided and highly productive.

Much of value inevitably is lost when a *verbatim* record is abstracted or summarized. The personal touch of individual expression, the cross fire of controversy, the full import of the original direct statement or discourse are liable to go by the board. On

the other hand, giving the *gist* of discussion has its virtues, too. Providing the record is summarized accurately, the reader may be better able to see the forest if an overview is given instead of multiple close-ups.

The first conference session included the presentation of Dr. Sanford's paper (Chapter Ten) and the discussion that followed it. Dr. Coleman's presentation (Chapter Eleven) was made at the second session. The third session was devoted to presentations by Dr. McNassor and Dr. Patterson (Chapter Eleven), with discussion following. In the fourth session, Dr. Chin gave his presentation (Chapter Thirteen).

FIRST SESSION

As a framework for the discussions of the first session, three distinctions were suggested by participants. First, a distinction was drawn between "action" research carried on in the day-to-day environment of the high school and "pure" research carried on in the laboratory under controlled conditions. A second distinction was made between problems intrinsic to the culture and the high school and problems relating to the personality of the individual adolescent. Third, the group stressed the importance of recognizing differences among various types of high schools, to avoid the danger of developing an artificial and misleading stereotype of "the high school." In this latter regard, it was pointed out frequently that sharp differences exist not only between urban and rural high schools, but even within each of those two broad groupings, which must be recognized constantly when one speaks of "high schools" generically.

The most important theme of the discussion evolving from Dr. Sanford's presentation was the general problem of offering to American adolescents a program of realistic and challenging experiences in citizenship and adult responsibility which would effectively tap their potential for growth and development. The group expressed a strong and general agreement that this was their goal and that through resolving this problem, more than through any other available channel, lay the key to influencing the enculturation of adolescents in the direction of responsible adult citizenship. Further,

it was agreed, the more realistic and challenging were the experiences offered to adolescents, the greater was the likelihood of the success of any civic education program.

Specifically, to make a program realistic and challenging for the individual adolescent means that the experiences in it must not be artificial, they must not be concocted exclusively for the purpose of providing outlets for adolescent activity, because adolescents are quick to sense the hypocrisy inherent in such an approach to their needs. Such experiences must, furthermore, be directed primarily toward effecting changes in adolescent behaviors and attitudes with respect to citizenship traits by deepening adolescent self-understanding and self-realization through participation and reflection. Thus experiences must cut deeply into adolescent personality as well as reflect sincerity on the part of the adult community; superficiality is as certain a harbinger of failure as is hypocrisy.

Beyond a shared commitment to this goal, however, there was considerable doubt within the group as to the feasibility of affording American adolescents the admittedly desirable range of experiences implied above. The barriers or difficulties to the fulfillment of the goal seemed to fall into three categories: those imposed by practical community or societal relationships and power structures; those dictated by the rigidities of the high school as an institution; and those inherent in adolescent personality, which may make the individual adolescent resistant or unsusceptible to change-inducing experiences.

The power realities of the community in which the adolescent matures and goes to school were seen to present several types of problems. First, there is the physical problem of finding opportunities within the community for adolescent participation on a sufficiently large and frequent scale to make any program effective. As was pointed out during the discussion, there is a considerable difference in physical terms between accommodating the senior class of the high school in the firehouse or the city hall one afternoon a year and giving each member of that class an active role which is useful to the community and meaningful to the individual, sufficient to occupy him throughout the year. Hence an initial problem is one of finding space within the present struc-

ture of the community in which to give each member of a rapidly expanding adolescent population a chance to try himself out as a citizen.

The alternative to finding space for the adolescent within the present community structure would be to manufacture space for him, but this raises serious additional problems. Roles which are manufactured will almost inevitably be recognized as artificial and for that reason will very likely not be accepted enthusiastically by adolescents themselves. Perhaps more serious, the development of any large-scale program for realistic adolescent participation is not likely to meet with immediate approval from the adult community. Adult leaders are often jealous of their prestige and cannot reasonably be expected to be eager to "hand down" or divest themselves of important powers solely for the purpose of training adolescents in the ways of good citizenship. A student government day once a year cannot do very much to shift the power structure. Holding such an affair once a week, however, would be quite another matter; and it is in the latter type of case that adult resistance might be expected. Hence there emerges from these two practical considerations a dilemma for the teacher of citizenship who seeks to provide a broad program of challenging and realistic experiences for adolescents: if the experiences are to be realistic in the sense of affecting what goes on in the community, they can do so only at the expense of disturbing certain vested adult political and power interests; yet, alternatively, if these experiences are planned apart from the realities of the community, they lose much of their value for the adolescents who ought to profit by them.

The society in which the adolescent seeks to become adult makes the task of the citizenship educator difficult in yet another respect. As our society becomes increasingly organized and structured, it demands increasingly of the high schools training in specialized skills and techniques at the expense of development in less tangible respects, such as personality and character. If time and resources for citizenship training are to be provided in the school curriculum, they must be borrowed from those career-oriented sections of the curriculum upon which a technology-conscious society seems to be placing an ever greater premium.

One respect in which the realities of the community impinge

upon the training of citizens in the schools is that local government, however honest and efficient or corrupt and malfunctioning it may be, is, after all, *the* most visible government as far as students are concerned. If the government under which they live and which regulates their daily activities sets a bad example, it becomes inevitably more difficult for the high school social science teacher to convince his students that the idealized conception of "good government" which he teaches can be made practical at the level at which real government operates.

The existing state of local government operates in another, even more direct, way upon the high school, by virtue of the control which the local school board or committee has over the school administration. Bad government thus may not only *set* a bad example; in the extreme, it may serve even to mold the curriculum of the schools in its own image. Thus in these two respects the realities of local government may impinge seriously and detrimentally upon the teaching of citizenship in those communities where citizenship is not practiced as it must be taught.

The school *as an institution* presents another range of problems for the teacher of citizenship. Chief among these is the problem of impermeability—the fact that schools which have become set in their ways afford little opportunity for the innovation or experimentation which are necessary for a dynamic, effective civic education program.

The basic problem of permeation is that of getting valid, creative civic education into the curriculum or school program at any level; and subsequent to that is the problem of how far the door may be opened once it has been unlocked. One element which seems to impose unusually great institutional rigidities in this respect is the tendency of school administrators, especially in the large urban systems, to think of the school primarily as a physical entity and not enough as a community of living and widely disparate individuals. The permeability of the high school to innovation and improvement of civic education might be increased substantially if administrators were to try to see the school community as the adolescent sees it, and reshape some of their own thinking in terms of the insights this would provide.

Another problem inherent in the school structure is one of per-

sonnel. Many teachers are not equipped by their own education and by their previous experience to undertake the responsibilities of teaching citizenship in terms of individual development and of helping boys and girls to become adult. They have become accustomed to teaching abstract information or concrete skills and have not the background or point of view which is required for the enculturation of adolescents as democratic citizens and responsible persons. What is needed may be a generation of teachers who will take a more active part in the activities of the community and particularly in those activities which are important to their students, so that they may have a better understanding of the personalities of boys and girls who are in their charge. To expect teachers suddenly to immerse themselves in a host of adolescent activities is, of course, to expect the impossible; but some closer degree of contact with adolescent ways of doing and thinking appears to be necessary for those who are to train adolescents as citizens. In this process, both the administrator and the teacher need to reassess the relationship between what is done in school and what is done out of school by their students, and to achieve a closer integration of the curricular and the extracurricular.

The third group of problems discussed concerned the personality of the adolescent and his susceptibility or responsiveness to the type of behavioral and attitudinal change-inducing experiences necessary for citizenship education. One of the difficulties noted on the personality side concerned the pressures of the peer culture upon the adolescent, which may tend to develop unconscious inhibitions, rendering him less susceptible to challenge and change. Previous research in adolescent personality development, it was noted, has dealt with the conscious-unconscious dimension in many different ways. To have any depth or significance, an approach to civic education must likewise involve this dimension of personality. It is often assumed in citizenship education that one works *either* with the conscious *or* with the unconscious, but it was suggested in the discussion of the Sanford paper that the proper approach may be to work with the full range of this dimension, to affect the inner existence of the individual—the unconscious—through concentration upon the outer existence or the conscious. This suggestion argued also for a close analysis of the popular peer

culture with a view to reducing or alleviating those inhibitions in the individual adolescent which are products of that culture—through an eventual process of "making conscious the unconscious."

Against this background of barriers and difficulties which are encountered in any program of providing realistic citizenship experiences for adolescents, certain methodological considerations were raised during the discussion. The broad problem of the relationship between psychology and education—both functional and structural—was discussed at some length. Dr. Sanford noted that the often supposed functional distinction between the two disciplines is actually but a difference in "point of view," since many educators and teaching devices employ "depth" psychology and other techniques of psychological change-induction. There was left open at this point, however, the problem of defining for teachers of citizenship the types of skills and change-induction techniques to be utilized in a general fashion and the specific techniques to be employed with specific personality problems.

Dr. Sanford further discussed the problem of multiple factors bearing upon the relation between the individual and his society. He introduced this aspect of the problem by noting that the pedagogical approach to the individual must involve an interactive process among the general society, the particular institution, and the individual's values. The structure of this relation varies, many institutional factors being embedded in the general society, while others are not. For ideal effectiveness, at least a parallelism of values in each of these units would be required; and, as Dr. Sanford suggested in this connection, the effective orientation of the individual to the institution might quite understandably involve educative reorganization of the adult culture.

Dr. Patterson and Dr. Coleman, on the other hand, focused upon two distinct procedures which might be employed in attempting to effect change in the individual: (1) To assess the positive resources of the individual's subculture and *relate* these to the general culture, or (2) to focus entirely upon such resources *as they exist* in the subculture. The latter approach seemed to imply a high degree of faith in the native potentialities of the individual for effecting change, in the sense that reaching responsible adult

citizenship would be dependent upon the *individual's* application of the positive values found in the subculture to the general culture in which he matures.

This faith in the individual's native predisposition to change was also evinced in the suggestion that a holistic approach should be taken to the problem of citizenship education—that attention should be directed toward the psychology of human interaction rather than toward specific content matters, such as "good government" and the functioning of political institutions. Such suggestions implied that a development of health and resilience in adolescent personality would ultimately induce healthy changes in civic affairs and government and would effect more thoroughly the changes ordinarily sought through a content-oriented curriculum in citizenship education.

A transcendent concern expressed throughout the session by several members of the group was for avoiding the types of failures and shortcomings which have befallen previous experiments in the field of citizenship education. The question posed by those who expressed this concern was: What must this generation of educational and research people do in their work with citizenship education so that they will leave behind them more than the dry bones of well-intentioned ventures or the husks of sound ideas that did not survive their inventors? Although no specific solution was offered at this stage of the discussion, it was apparent that much of the emphasis placed throughout the session upon providing realistic and challenging experiences at least suggested the way in which the solution should be framed. The key seemed to lie in careful evaluation of the operational aspects of any future program in terms of these two criteria—*realism* and *challenge*.

The essence of the first session's discussion lay in the generally shared and deeply felt conviction that there must be provided, for as large a segment of our adolescent population as possible, a series of realistic and highly motivated experiences related to the practice and study of citizenship.

SECOND SESSION

The second discussion session of the Conference was directed toward an analysis of the primary socio-psychological problems

encountered in attempting to provide adolescent education for citizenship. In his analysis of problems of adolescent and adult cultures, Dr. Coleman provided two primary bases for reaction: one in terms of the types of problems that exist in the process of education for citizenship; and another in terms of his proposed program of citizenship education, which in its formulation presented both goals for citizenship education and suggested techniques for their accomplishment.

An initial question raised by participants concerned the imposition of adult values on the adolescent culture, with the assumption that such transposition would lead to a positive reorganization within the latter culture. There was agreement that the simple imposition of such values is not in itself a sufficient condition for the induction of change within the adolescent culture, and that such imposition may be an inefficient technique for inducing change unless it occurs within a well-defined context of controlled and directed guidance. It was noted that lack of guidance could lead to divergence rather than integration between the cultures, and for the adolescent culture could result in a misinterpretation of the intrinsic nature of such values.

In assessing typical attempts to provide values within the context of guidance, it was noted that a common feature and/or danger has been that upon completion of civic education programs, guidance was abruptly and completely removed. The result of such a procedure was described as the development of a separation rather than an integration between the cultures. Perhaps the full implication of the idea of such a separation might be grasped by considering it to consist of "non-referent" values; *i.e.*, in transposing a value from the adult culture to the adolescent culture without assuring understanding of the total context from which it was drawn or attempting to redefine it in terms of the adolescent culture, the value is effectively robbed of any functional referent or context. The consequent application of essentially isolated or adult-irrelevant values in actual behavior is not likely to be adult in its quality.

With the above considerations in mind, two criteria were formulated for the application of guidance or direction. The first suggests that when guidance is applied, a substantial and realistic

identification between the two cultures should be ascertained and/or provided as a preventive against the occurrence of "postguidance vacuum." The second criterion recognizes the necessity of a mutually interactive process of change and understanding between the two cultures in suggesting that the adult culture must be responsive to certain ameliorative changes originating in the adolescent world (such as those occurring in the area of race relations) and must accept these changes in its own world with the concomitant necessity of value redefinition.

At least two aspects were noted briefly by members of the group with regard to the latter criterion. Dr. Deutsch seemed to imply, in his description of the problem of integration from the adolescent's point of view, the existence of multiple adult-generated referents or criteria of belonging. Granting the notion that the adolescent is motivated to become an adult, there are two questions one may raise: (1) has the individual reached a level of development which will permit the cognitive and affective identification and integration of such multiple referents? and (2) are the goals for such identification and integration actually existent in adult society, *i.e.*, are they meaningful to the individual adolescent by having reality value in their application? In response to the latter question, Sister Mary Janet indicated her belief that such meaningful values do exist in society and that such values and goals (*e.g.*, respect for the dignity of the person, social responsibility, and so on) lend themselves to, and indeed require, perpetuation by the adolescent culture. The formulation of such goals, admittedly broad in scope and definition, offers a framework for generating positive development within the total subcultural unit of adolescence for the general benefit of society. On the other hand, Dr. Coleman's thesis seemed to imply that one cannot generate social responsibility on this general level, but rather that one must deal with the complexity of subcultural units, having as an ultimate goal the integration of each of these frequently quite unique societies within the general society.

It is possible to conceive of the statements made by Sister Mary Janet and Dr. Coleman as complementing each other, in the sense that one may map the process of value reorientation by positing the existence of certain abstract or general goals for the general

society and placing on a lower, more specific, level the existence of certain immediate subcultural goals. One might then assume the achievement of lower-level goals as a necessary condition for opening the path to the attainment of higher-level goals.

With regard to possible techniques for obtaining optimal integration between the adolescent and adult cultures, participants offered three primary suggestions. The first concerns what might be characterized as the establishment of realistic patterns of communication between the two cultures. In order to approach integration of the adolescent culture with the adult culture, it was postulated that it is important for the adult community to understand in broader scope the dynamics of the adolescent problem and to relate adolescence to a broader conceptualization of the whole community. In this respect, Dr. Grambs pointed out the necessity of considering such fundamental issues as the community's conception of citizenship education, the community's reaction to the direction of such a program, and so forth. The implication seems quite straightforward. An optimally successful program of civic education, in which meaningful change in the adolescent is to be accomplished, can be effective only within a *community willing to accept in a realistic fashion the manifestations* of such change. The cooperation of the adult community must transcend academic reinforcement of civic education values and provide actual opportunity for their expression and realization.

A second suggestion made in terms of techniques of obtaining optimal integration of adolescent culture with adult culture called for a de-emphasis and resolution of an artificial dichotomy between age-determined cultures. It was suggested that the peer culture should not be accented because of its unique patterns and values, but should be considered as a context for development or growth. In this respect, barriers to adjustment should be minimized, and procedures which would encourage enculturation would be emphasized.

A third suggestion dealt with the recognition and utilization of those factors intrinsic to the adolescent culture which themselves have a potential role in motivating social responsibility and other positive citizenship values. This suggestion appeared to grow out

of the desire expressed by several participants for further evaluation of previous citizenship education programs which had not been overwhelmingly successful. Perhaps, it was felt, such programs failed fully to utilize or recognize factors intrinsic to adolescence and capable of motivating the development of values.

The reaction to Dr. Coleman's proposal of a program for utilizing interscholastic competitions to induce social responsibility and good citizenship centered upon its potential value and possible dangers, its limitations and possible qualifications, and one potential application of such a program.

The positive value of Dr. Coleman's program seems to be fundamentally based upon the utilization of competition as a motivating device which at first centers upon relatively simple tasks of cooperation, but then gradually broadens its scope to include society-centered tasks and responsibilities. Since the competition occurs among groups as *units*, rather than among the individual participants in the groups, the potential development of competitive drives within the individual is reduced in its narcissistic component, while the individual's development of responsibility to the group is enhanced. (One must take into consideration here the possibility that such a theoretical schema does not eliminate the pragmatic development of narcissistic motivation, but may simply mask its development; *i.e.*, a theoretical a priori exclusion rather than an experiential one.)

The various limitations and dangers of such a program were discussed. It was pointed out that, keeping in mind the necessary relation between the adult and adolescent cultures, the program might not reflect in an adequate fashion the proper balance necessary between cooperation and competition in the adult world. It was also noted that certain activities will lend themselves well to such a schema, while others will not, the implication again being that of a need to assure proper balance. Another critique was directed toward a potential effect of such a program; namely, the emergence of an elite group, ostensibly the group leaders or the successful group members, to whom the positive effects would be restricted. Mr. Black, on the basis of his experience with the program of the Encampment for Citizenship, noted the existence within youth of

a natural propensity for group membership and productive citizenship without competition or extrinsic definition of such functions. It was commented that one might extend this observation and assume that a program exclusively dependent upon extrinsic definition of human interaction has lost sight of the intrinsic value of productivity or creativity to the individual, without the need for other rewards.

Another criticism made reference to the Sherif experiments, with a reminder that they suggested that stress on competition may result in the development of antagonistic, individual-oriented, and heterogeneous behavior in previously homogeneous groups. It was questioned whether the particular gain achieved by certain members of the group or certain in-groups was worth the cost of losing other members of these groups.

It was further noted that while our society tends to reward athletic competition, there is no basis, at least in past experience, for anticipating similar behavior on the part of society for competition in nonathletic endeavors. Another negative implication of such a program suggested in discussion was its particular amenability to use as a manipulative device.

Finally, it was noted that a program based primarily upon competition as its basic motivating force lacks intrinsic correctives or barriers against the development of such ethnocentric, subnationalistic tendencies as might develop between the particular groups in competition. To guard against the possible development of valuing competition as an end in itself in such a program, the objectives of competition must always be commensurate with the goals of democratic society.

Dr. Coleman noted that the activities to be utilized would be sufficiently diverse (on both the academic and athletic levels) to enlist the entire student body of a particular school and that certain activities would of themselves be broad enough to require participation of the majority of a student body.

A practical application of this program was noted in the Massachusetts summer program of volunteer work and in interregional competition among various schools based on the criterion of overall, comprehensive acceptance of social responsibility. It has been found that positive values of civic responsibility emerge distinctly

in this sort of competition and tend to gain general acceptance by the participants.

THIRD SESSION

The discussion of the third session followed the lines suggested by the action proposals contained in the major presentations by Dr. Patterson and Dr. McNassor. The group's principal attention was directed to the first of these proposals—the special summer-session program designed for the teaching of citizenship and public affairs. The general reaction to this proposal was sympathetic and approbative, though subject to several practical reservations and caveats.

Consideration was also given to the second of these proposals—that concerning the decentralization and unitization of large urban high schools. Here again the response of the group was decidedly favorable. Finally, in the latter part of the session, attention was focused upon the more theoretical problem of formulating a concept of adolescent personality which would serve as a background or reference point for the deliberations of the group and for further planning in the field.

The first proposal by Dr. Patterson and Dr. McNassor, concerning the summer program in citizenship and public affairs, appeared to the group to present a number of advantages in both theoretical and operational aspects. It would, at the very least, offer a more effective channel than is presently provided by the regular winter term for answering the persistent question, "How much guidance of the organization of adolescent activities should the adult community provide?" Experiments with various approaches to this problem of guidance, with differing degrees of adult control, would be possible in a summer session and are virtually impossible during the winter session in most school systems because of the practical limitations of curriculum and administration. What the asking of this question—how much guidance or control the adult community should offer the adolescent community—seeks to achieve would be more adequate answers than are now available in terms of the proper balance between authoritarian domination and complete *laissez faire*. All that can now be stated with common-sense confidence is that the proper balance

lies somewhere between the two extremes; but where in actual practice the balance should be struck is a question to which only an experimental program can provide the answers.

Other questions which might be resolved through the experimental summer program are those concerning clarification of the goals of democratic education. These questions are often asked with respect to the winter session, but providing the answers requires a program which is amenable to more objective analysis and to more flexible experimentation; and here again the summer program appears to offer unique advantages.

The summer program could also do much for the sagging and increasingly undermined prestige of the social studies in a period during which curricular emphasis has been placed more and more on the development of scientific and mathematical skills. Recent criticisms have dealt with the teaching of social studies; devoting an entire summer session to the development of better citizenship might do much to restore the confidence of students and the general public in the pedagogical value of the social studies.

In its make-up, the summer proposal could embody a considerable variety of academic fare, which the group agreed was a major virtue. It was suggested that variety of educational experience may rank second only to that quality of realism and challenge stressed in the first session as a criterion for choosing experiences designed to encourage better citizenship among high school students. If the experiences in citizenship offered by such a program can be made both realistic and varied, its potential for behavioral and attitudinal change and growth would seem to be substantially greater.

The summer program appeared to present several immediate practical advantages for the school administrator, quite apart from the anticipated long-range effects of its adoption. First, while it is a refreshing innovation, the program is certainly not extreme. It would demand no major institutional reorganization to be carried out in a school system. This is not to say that it could be put into operation without extensive planning and training of personnel who would participate; but simply that it requires for its execution no more than the existing institutional framework.

At the same time, the nature of the program would not prevent

its being an effective catalyst for the improvement of teaching methods, which all too frequently have hardened into inflexible patterns during the regular sessions of the school year. The summer program would very probably afford an opportunity for much-needed innovations in pedagogy, not only on the part of the administrators of the program but also on the part of the participating teachers themselves, who are often unable to experiment and innovate during the winter session. It seems likely that teachers who did become involved in the summer session in their schools would inevitably catch the spirit of innovation which inheres in such a program and would take advantage of the opportunity to rejuvenate their own instructional methods.

To be considered along with the advantages of this program, however, were several reservations or cautions interposed by the group during the discussion of the summer-program idea. There seems present in this program, as in most attractive innovations, a danger that it will benefit only the elite of American adolescents —those who least need its benefit. As the program is put into operation, it should not be aimed solely at involving adolescents who, because they are already responsive to the goals of good citizenship, would probably be most eager to participate. In response to this caveat, Dr. Curtin cited the experience of the Massachusetts summer volunteer program which, on a purely voluntary basis, has been surprisingly attractive to and effective among those adolescents who are not generally thought of as being highly motivated in citizenship terms and who are not classed among the scholastic elite. In the light of this experience in the field, the danger that the summer program would serve only the citizenship elite of adolescents seems less alarming than might be supposed in the abstract.

Another, more immediate, answer to the fears of incipient elitism in the program is that such a summer program would inevitably have to be made available first to a selected group of adolescents before it could be put generally into practice for all groups, and that to begin by including the more highly motivated youth would in no way constitute a dedication of the program to that group beyond its initial stages. Thus, since the program must start somewhere, there would be no irreparable harm in starting

with strongly motivated youth, so long as the program's base was broadened as rapidly as practical conditions would permit.

Before this program were to be executed, considerable attention would have to be given to its methodological and research aspects, the group agreed. Much of its value would be lost if the ground were not carefully laid out and a close check kept upon the program's operations to determine its effectiveness and its shortcomings as it developed. One aspect which should be built into the summer program would be means for helping the teachers involved to be in close touch with one another, with frequent evaluative meetings to consider the functioning of the program in process. Such a feature of process evaluation built into the program would, in addition, further serve to induce innovation in the teaching methods of its staff, the desirability of which has been noted above.

In the planning and evaluation of the program, particular attention should be given to those adolescent groups which are least highly motivated in the direction of effective citizenship. The program must attempt to build in as many inducements as possible for those groups—not only for those which are on the brink of delinquency, but more significantly for the vast middle group of adolescents who are neither enthusiastic nor rebellious, but merely apathetic. Special attention should also be given during the evaluative stages of the program to determining what aspects of the program are most attractive to these middle groups and to what appeals they seem to be most responsive. In an area of adolescent psychology in which little is known at present, much might be learned through a careful and controlled evaluation of the summer program.

Closely associated with the problem of motivation was that of realism, already considered during the first session, but stressed during the third session with specific reference to the summer-session proposal. In this connection, it was noted that the realism of experience incorporated in the program could be either of two types, both effective, but conceptually separable and distinct. The first of these is the realism of the sort which was stressed during the first session—that of providing opportunities for adolescents to take actual and meaningful roles in the affairs of the adult com-

munity. The second type of realism, which seems more applicable to the summer program, is that involved in trying to create an adolescent culture or institutional setting which is realistic not so much because it is a functioning part of the adult power structure, but rather because it functions *like* the adult power structure and provides for adolescents the same type of practical political experiences which participation in government and civic affairs provides for their parents. The first is more in the nature of an extension of the adult community, imparting realism by association; the second is more a microcosm of the adult community, whose realism stems from imitation rather than from association. The dichotomy between the two methods of achieving realism in adolescent experiences is not, however, a rigid one; and the effectiveness of the summer session would depend to a large extent upon its ability to induce realism both by association and by imitation, by creating a kind of cooperative subculture in which adults and adolescents might participate together in a way which is realistic and meaningful for both groups.

The building of cooperative subcultures into any innovation in the field of civic education seemed to this group to be equally applicable to the second proposal—concerning the decentralization into manageable units of the large urban high school. In each of these school-within-a-school units there could be a significant potential for the development of a subculture that would be an optimum meeting ground for adolescent and adult. In such a cooperative unit, each age group would have a stake in the whole, a sense of joint responsibility for the success of what is essentially a joint venture, in the sense that it transcends both groups and yet affects the survival of each. Such cooperation could be achieved within the microcosmic unit without the sacrifice of values and standards which would be required if each group were subordinated to the objectives of the other. The peer culture of neither age group would be destroyed by the cooperative venture toward better citizenship; rather, each would benefit from a sharing of common goals and values with the other, without a sacrifice of its own identity.

The feasibility of the cooperative-subculture approach to innovation in civic education was reinforced particularly for this

group by a generally shared belief in the self-generative ability of the adolescent as an individual. The problem, seen in these terms, is not so much one of finding the raw material—that material is already present in the potential "citizenship energy" of the adolescent—but of developing institutional settings which will tap this store of energy and channel it into responsible citizenship behavior. If a proper balance can be maintained between guidance and direction, on the one hand, and nondirective cooperation on the other, then a program consonant with this conception would go far toward providing the optimal environment for the maturation of the adolescent.

The cooperative subculture conception has had particular meaning with respect to the experience of the Encampment for Citizenship at Riverdale, New York, and Berkeley, California, in which for several summers adults and adolescents have participated in just such a rewarding joint venture in citizenship. The chief emphasis in the program has been upon the development of the "self" as a psychological entity interacting responsibly with other entities in a stimulating and sociologically heterogeneous environment. This emphasis comes by way of contrast to the orientation which many other civic education ventures have placed upon the development of isolated attributes of personality, detached from the whole self as a personality. The Encampment has found the cooperative subculture particularly fertile as a field of human interaction from which emerge realistic, challenging experiences in practical citizenship conducive to behavioral and attitudinal change in the direction of responsible citizenship.

Problems of adolescent personality development were considered more directly and specifically toward the conclusion of discussion. In an effort to develop a workable definition or conception of adolescent personality with reference to citizenship education, the participants agreed that there has been a discontinuity or dissociation between fact and theory in this particular area. It was postulated here that a satisfactory working definition or conception might serve to effect a much needed integration between theory and practice.

One particular area which the group felt to be in need of attention was that of the differential effects which various types of

programs in citizenship education would have upon different types of adolescent personality. There has been a serious danger in planning abstract programs that "adolescent personality" will be regarded as an undifferentiated stereotype or constant. Such a notion would, the group agreed, be highly misleading, in failing to point up the multiplicity of personality variables which make each adolescent a unique being, and which demand a recognition that no particular civic education program will ever work exactly the same way on two different groups of adolescents, even within the same community or the same school.

Another area which seemed badly in need of exploration and investigation was that of the personalities which most strongly influence the extracurricular development of adolescents. Researchers need to know more about the nature of the persons outside the school—whether parents, older relatives and friends, or community leaders—who most strongly influence the personality development of the highly impressionable adolescents who are willingly or unwillingly subjected to their influence. Perhaps a more thorough understanding of these extrinsic influences would shed much-needed light on unexplained phenomena of adolescent development; these are relationships which should be inquired into by researchers much more extensively.

There may be a fruitful and little-exploited field for personality researchers in postadolescent development, in the period of life when many latent adolescent tendencies emerge as behavioral traits. Specifically, research which has already been done in this area has concentrated on such postadolescent experiences as military service and its influence on young men, and for young women the equally momentous experience of nursing training. A more thorough study of various postadolescent activities might shed much useful light restrospectively upon what happens to adolescents when they are suddenly faced with the challenge of adulthood. Particular attention might be given in such studies to the postadolescent development of those who, as adolescents, showed the poorest citizenship behaviors and the lowest level of motivation, in an effort to determine whether these motivation levels and citizenship behaviors become fixed during adolescence, or whether they are subject to amelioration thereafter.

Another aspect of personality which the civic education researcher might study to considerable advantage was broadly defined as "spiritual energy," as distinguished from purely physical energy. Spiritual energy includes specifically those aspects of the adolescent personality which afford civic education practitioners the greatest promise of constructive development from within of self-generating behavioral and attitudinal change. If the cooperative subculture conception is to realize its full potential, there must be a clearer understanding of the nature and quality of this potential native capacity of adolescents for self-development toward responsible citizenship. "Spiritual energy," it was suggested, is the raw material with which the educator must work; a firmer and more precise understanding of its nature, its potentialities, and its limitations would be essential to the optimum execution of any program utilizing this energy.

FOURTH SESSION

The reaction to the theoretical schema for methodological investigation of citizenship education presented by Dr. Chin focused initially upon a relatively concrete definition of the interactive variables to be assessed in such research, with emphasis upon the potential contribution of such variables, and upon certain methodological problems involved in their theoretical as well as pragmatic manipulation. More specifically, questions were raised concerning definition of the adolescent; the need for assessing the institution of the high school; provision of such a program in terms of the teacher-student and teacher-teacher interaction as well as the student-student or student-institution interaction; interaction between the extrinsic stimuli of culture and a specific institution within that culture; the optimal population for investigation; the role of advanced education in the preservation of or possible interference with citizenship education skills; and so forth.

The presentation by Dr. Chin and the ensuing discussion of these questions occurred within two structural frames of reference: (1) the perceived need for immediate research in ongoing programs of citizenship education; and (2) the long-range methodological implications of programing research on citizenship

education. The dichotomy was a structural one, not excluding interaction among all aspects of research; rather, the focus was upon the conflict between the urgent, immediate needs for evaluation, with accuracy of methodology assuming a secondary position, and the eventual need for accurate methodological evaluation, with urgency of immediate needs assuming a secondary position. A third, essentially superordinate but generally accepted, aspect of this discussion was the notion that the type of research program of optimal utility and present relevance would be of the kind known as "action research." As contrasted with socio-psychological research, action research is less controlled, since it is oriented to an ongoing behavioral program and must try to encompass the dual and frequently contradictory factors of behavioral meaningfulness and scientific validity. Two specific aspects of this problem were noted by Dr. Gerbner, who pointed out that in action research one must include such a large number of variables that their assessment becomes difficult and that such variables are typically interactive. In order to assess an actual, ongoing, complex process one has two major choices. One possibility involves controlling the process and providing a basis for research to produce accurate scientific knowledge of the dynamics of an artificially impoverished program. A second alternative involves maintaining the process or program in its complexity with the consequence of less accurate or scientific assessment of the process.

It was noted that the practitioner has certain requirements which must be fulfilled if he is to be an active agent in a program of research. These needs are to be provided with methodological techniques of research and a theoretical design which are in accord with his level of experience and research sophistication. In this connection, there was general acceptance of the notion that the most effective means for meeting such needs would be a close interaction between the research scientist and the practitioner. Keeping in mind the considerations noted with regard to the nature of action research, such a relationship implies a mutual contribution to the research program rather than the oft-conceived unilateral one of researcher to practitioner.

With regard to the population to be studied in a civic education

experiment, the Conference members dealt with six dimensions that could require study:

1. The adolescent individual
2. The adolescent group
3. The immediate interactive agents (students and teachers)
4. The particular institution within which the interaction occurs
5. The immediate society of the institution and the adolescent culture
6. General society

A need for research was seen to exist both within each of these dimensions and in the interaction among the levels.

Within the first dimension, the adolescent individual, both practitioners and researchers are concerned with the depth or level of involvement necessary for effecting significant change in the person's perception of and involvement in civic phenomena. How far is it valid and necessary for action and research to go? Does one deal with the unconscious? Should one use psychotherapy? Is education a significant technique? Here one paradoxical situation seemed to emerge, that of the existence of a real need for self-analysis by the adolescent and yet the need to be cautious because of a lack of teachers trained and experienced in initiating and continuing such a process.

The dimension of the adolescent group was discussed in terms of its structural as well as its dynamic definition. It was noted that past research has concentrated upon two extremes of this dimension: the highly motivated group capable of citizenship responsibility and its antithesis, the highly unmotivated group least qualified for such responsibility. It was suggested in this connection that the vast majority of adolescents who fall between the extremes represent perhaps the most significant population for study. Indeed, since it seems likely that the majority of adolescents may be found in this group, one might well justify the formulation of a program of citizenship education directed only to this group. In terms of the personality and cultural dynamics within the adolescent group, concern was expressed for the need to understand the factors which define the adolescent's perception of reality and the relationship between this perception and the adult's

perception of reality. Implicit here seemed to be a sense of need for involvement on the adult's part in the adolescent's values and an adult attempt to understand the relation between such values and consequent behavior.

At several points the group cautioned generally against trying to get results too fast—proceeding too rapidly before the groundwork is adequately laid for a sound and comprehensive action-research program. Time must be allowed, as this Conference itself illustrated to the participants, for extensive interaction between research and educational personnel to enable them to work together with maximum effectiveness. Any program, such as the summer-program innovation, which might be proposed as a basis for action research is not, whatever else may be said about it, "all ready to go." Workers in this field have too often succumbed to the temptation of producing something in a hurry, often impelled by the external pressures of groups seeking a disclosure of the "button which will produce good citizens." An action-research group, however immediate may be its needs, must remember that there is no such button and must take time to integrate its skills and its disciplines and plan carefully before embarking on an action program.

The final category of discussion was that of specific methodological considerations suggested by Dr. Chin's presentation. First among these, Dr. Chin's classification of behavioral types suggested to the teacher as well as to the researcher the importance of choosing certain main points of emphasis upon which to concentrate attention, rather than scattering the emphasis without providing proper focus, as has often been done in the past.

The group agreed that Dr. Chin's own paper had the virtue of concentrating upon citizenship rather than upon adolescence; there was felt to be among groups of this sort a tendency to focus exclusively on adolescents simply because they are the out-group for whom adult groups of this sort can, and to a certain degree must, plan.

It was suggested that the outlook or "world view" of the adolescent, as defined by Dr. Chin, might be analogous to the outlook of a prisoner; both adolescents and prisoners are in a sense suspended between two states of existence. Neither group

has a very certain or concrete idea of what it will face when it goes forth into the world at large.

Dr. Chin's paper also made clear that at the outset of any research program there must be established a clear conceptual scheme defining the goals of the program—essentially, what the program is attempting to accomplish and how it intends to go about that task. Too many studies in the past in this field have failed to appreciate the importance of this planning phase and have plunged forward without first setting up a framework or system of objectives and criteria.

The framework as offered by Dr. Chin suggested the importance of viewing the human personality as an integrated whole—remembering that many of the most significant psychological studies have been based upon exhaustive analysis of a relatively small number of individual subjects and personality types. This approach suggests the importance of analyzing the whole personality in "longitudinal" terms rather than cutting across large groups of abstracted traits or personality segments for analysis.

The framework, it was suggested, should be expanded in another sense: more attention should be paid to consideration of the whole course of personality development through the college age, rather than isolating in a vacuum the few years of maturing denominated "adolescence."

The chief emphasis of the discussion fell upon the need for interrelation between action and laboratory research. Yet the problem must be faced realistically that the research considerations relevant to socio-psychological experimentation often do not mix well with those important for the action researcher. More encouragingly, however, it may not be essential that they do mix, inasmuch as their fundamental objectives are different: the action program seeks to get something done, and to this purpose or goal the laboratory research considerations are largely irrelevant, at least to the point of not requiring that they be fused in a single program.

The chief distinction for methodological purposes seems to be that the action program is "over-determined," in the sense that various possibly conflicting elements are injected into an action program in hopes of producing a workable whole, but in such a

way as to make it difficult if not impossible to measure reliably which element of input caused which effect. The pure research program, in order to assure such measurability, is artifically "impoverished" in its design. Thus because of the fundamental and inevitable differences in composition, fusion between the two programs is virtually impossible.

What, then, seemed to be needed was a type of mixing by sequence rather than mixing or fusion by concurrence. The results of a carefully conducted research program ought somehow to be combined with or worked into an ongoing action program—that is, the results and implications of the research would be incorporated into an already functioning action program, rather than simply being tacked onto the operation of the action program at its inception. In this way, the research program could be artificially impoverished without jeopardizing the action program, and the action program could be compounded without impairing the accuracy of measurement necessary to the research program. Thus, in a two-step approach, certain dynamics could first be isolated, and then later could be built into the action program after they had been tested and evaluated, without necessitating the artificial impoverishment of the action program at the outset.

Index

Accreditation, 23-25, 39
Adaptation, 279
Adolescents, 290-297, 336-349, 364, 378; *see also* Citizenship education; High Schools
Age grouping, 212-214
American Historical Association, 58
American Ideals investigation project, 78-80
American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 41
Anomie, 186
Anonymity, 316
Anxiety, 239
Apathy, 313-320
Asch, Solomon, 230
Athletics, 299-301
Attitudes: descriptions and measurement of, 225-228; formation and modification of, 228-229; and mass communications, 190-197; stereotypes, 219-220; studies of, 93-94, 349

Baltimore: City of Promise, 140-141
Barker, Roger, 19
Beard, Charles, 59
Behavior: and mass communications, 187-189, 191-192, 198-200; vs. moral standards, 195-196
Behavioral Goals of General Education in High School, 59-60
Bell, Howard M., 41
Benne, Kenneth D., 345n
Boston University Human Relations Workshop, 261
Brave New World (Huxley), 15

Camfield, E. R., 146
Capparelli, Edward, 147
Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education, 55-57
Carnegie unit, 25-27
Change: mechanisms of, 282-286; processes of, 275-282; theory of, 256-257
Character: defined, 207-208; in culture and personality field, 209ff; studies in, 208-209
Character education, 207, 210, 220-221

Character Research Project, Union College, 232
Childe, V. Gordon, 322
Children of Bondage, 41
Citizenship: and character education, 210-211; characteristics of, 235, 304; *defined*, 81, 208; and home environment, 235; influences on, 82-83; and mass communications, 187; measurement of, 65; and mental health, 234-235; in school *vs.* community life, 237; and social stimuli, 236-237; and values, 235-236
Citizenship education: and athletics, 299-301; and community study and civic participation, 133-146, 167-168; curricula and subject matter, 100-122, 166; defined, 51, 106; goals, 51-66; innovations in, 325-334; investigations in, 70-95, 231-234, 238-242, 250; and mass communications, 182-189, 196-197, 199-201; and participation in school management, 127-133, 167; political gaming in, 306-307; present inadequacies in, 169ff; and *standards of conduct*, 122-127, 166-167; students' role in, 297-303, 309, 320; suggestions for growth of student responsibility, 320-325; techniques in, 304-308; and total school culture, 148-165, 168
Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University, 77, 89-91, 134-136
Civic Education Project, The, 84-86
Civics, courses in, 57
Coeducation, 34-35
College entrance, emphasis on courses for, 22, 24-26
Commission on American Citizenship, 142-143
Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, 36
Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association (1930), 42
Commission on the Social Studies, 104-105
Committee of Five, 102
Committee of Seven, 102
Committee of Ten, 35-36, 54-55, 101
Committee on Social Studies of the National Education Association, 102
Community, student roles in, 320-325, 358-360, 366
Competition, 301-302, 308, 367-369
Conant, James B., 6, 77
Co-operative Study of Secondary School Standards, 39-41
"Core" courses, 105
Counseling, 42, 82
Course organization, 28-29
Culture, 209-220, 364-367
Curricula: changes in, 42-43; and citizenship education, 100-122; and culture, 211; fragmentation of, 317; state patterns for, 109-116
Curriculum for Citizenship, A, 80
Curtin, Thomas J., 138

Dale, Edgar, 181
Debating, 301
Delinquency, 214-216, 239
Democratic education, 74-75; *see also* Citizenship education
Democracy, 14
Desegregation, 23-24
Detroit Citizenship Education Study, 73, 77, 80-83, 250
Development, 275-286, 345-349
Dimond, Stanley E., 231
Discussion class, 60-61
Dobkin, M., 231
Dressel, Paul L., 8
Dunn, Arthur William, 102

Educating for American Citizenship, 108
Education, 290-297; *see also* Citizenship Education; High Schools; Secondary education
Education for Citizenship (Wilson), 37-38, 71, 108
Education for Social Competence, 78
Education Policies Commission, 36-37, 74
Eight Year Study, The, 42-44
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 89
Elicker, Paul, 127-128, 130

Elmtown's Youth, 217
Emotional Adjustment: A Key to Good Citizenship, 80
Encampment for Citizenship, 374
English, courses in, 56
Erikson, Erik H., 314
Evaluative criteria, 40-41
Existentialism, 336

Fontana High School (Cal.), 146-147
For Us the Living (Mahoney), 106-107
French, Will, 8

Gardner, John W., 5
George-Barden Act (1946), 42
Germantown Friends School, 171
Gifted students, 95
Gildersleeve, Virginia C., 11
Goldhamer, Herbert, 306
Grading-marking system, 29-30
Great Britain, 9
Group competition, 301-302
Growing Up in the Black Belt, 41
Guidance, *see* Counseling

Hall, Truman, 121
Heider, Fritz, 344
Henry, Jules, 126-127
High School in a Changing World, The, 7
High Schools, Catholic parochial, 142-144
High Schools, public: aspects of, 4, 23-35; and community civic participation, 133-146; decentralization of, 373; goals of, 7-8, 14; growth and development, 275ff; historical development, 21-23; nature of, and citizenship of students, 92-93, 360; pressures on, 3, 4; as productive institution, 271-272; standards of conduct, 122-127; structure of, 19; student management, 127-133; students in, 274-275, 313-320; suggested changes, 8-15, 45-46, 165-167; types of, 357
Holmes, Henry W., 11, 12, 85
Home environment, 235
Homogeneous grouping, 8-13
"Hour" class, 27-28

Hours on Freedom, 90
Hovland, C. L., 228
Huxley, Aldous, 15
Hyman, H. H., 231

Identity, 314-315, 336-337
Independence, 230
Interests, 225-228
International debates, 308

Johnson, H. G., 43
Jung, Richard, 272

Kansas Study of Citizenship, 73, 86-88
Klapper, Joseph T., 180
Kubie, Lawrence, 283

Laboratory practices, 133-136
Learning the Ways of Democracy: A Case Book of Civic Education, 74-78, 104-105
Legislation, 31-33, 104, 109ff
Living Democracy Series, The, 85
Local government, 360
Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M., 22, 32

Madison Report, 54-55
Mahoney, John, 58, 84, 106-107
Man Makes Himself (Childe), 322
Management Gaming, 307-308
Mann, Horace, 4, 13
Mass communication: and attitudes, 190-197; and behavior, 187-189, 191-192, 195-196, 198-200; and citizenship, 199-201; effects of, 180-182, 184ff; and reality orientation, 197-198; and social sciences, 189ff; utilization of, 182-190
Mass Communication and Education, 180
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 171
Matching Youth and Jobs (Bell), 41
May, Mark, 190
Mayhew, Lewis B., 8
Mayo, Elton, 13
Mennes, A. H., 231

Mental health, 82, 234-235
Merriam, Charles, 58
Michigan, University of, 24
Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 24
Moral standards, 195-196, 219
Movies, 190-193, 198
Myrdal, Gunnar, 33

National Council for the Social Studies, 85, 108
National Merit Scholarship Program, 45
National Opinion Research Center, 290
National Self-Government Committee, 130
National Training Laboratory, 257, 261
Negro education, 33, 41
Negro Youth at the Crossways, 41
New Deal, 58
New York Regents' Inquiry, 37-39, 71-73
Newspapers, 182, 183, 184
North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 24

Parsons, Talcott, 212-213
Pearl, David, 229
Personality: adolescent development of, 275-282, 374; change in, 275, 282-286; and citizenship education, 58-59, 82, 361, 375; culture and, 209ff; postadolescent development, 375; "spiritual energy," 376
Phelps, W. W., 231
Phillips Exeter Academy, 119-120
Political gaming, 306-307
Politics, 187
Population growth, U. S., 5
Power balance, youth and adult, 339-340
Price, Roy A., 84
Psychodrama, 305
Psychology, 225-243, 362
Psychotherapy, 229, 282-283
Public affairs, 182-189, 290

Quaker Work Camps, 261

Radio, 183, 184, 185
Reality orientation, 197-198
Redefer, Frederick L., 43
Reference groups, 220
Relationships, youth and adult, 338-340, 364-367
Research: in action or training programs, 248-251, 255-256, 258, 286, 357, 377-381; criterion variables, 262-264; in decision or policy situation, 251-253; design and utility factors, 266; on nature of adolescents, 336-344; program evaluation, 351-355; pure, 357, 380; for science building, 258; in study of procedures and techniques, 253-255; in theory of change, 256-257, 345-351; variables in, 259-265; *see also* Citizenship education: investigations in
Riesman, David, 6
Role playing, 305-308
Romine, Stephen A., 10
Russia, 273, 274

Sanford, John, 147
Schools and the Development of Good Citizens, 80
Secondary education: growth in, 5-6; homogeneous grouping in, 8-13; and mechanisms of change, 282; objectives, 272-274; studies in, 5-8, 20-21, 35-44
Self-identity, 215-216
Sex, 185, 212
Shafer, Alice, 147
Shaw, Archibald, 145
Shuttleworth, Frank K., 190
Slum areas, 94-95
Smith, Adam, 304
Social behavior, 230-231, 239
Social class, 199, 201, 213-218
Social Competence Inventory for Adults, 232-233
Social responsibility, 313-316, 320-325
Social stimuli, 236-237
Social studies, 38, 171, 318
Social Studies in Secondary Education, The, 102
Socialized recitation, *see* Discussion class

Society, nature of: adolescent, 292-297, 364-365; adult, 359; culture and personality, 210-220; and education, 291ff; and high schools, 4, 13; mass communication in, 181-182, 186; organization in, 212ff
Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 24
Special Studies Project of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc., 5-6
Stanford Social Education Investigation, 78-80
Status, *see* Social class
Student council, 128ff, 297
Students, 274-275, 282, 313ff; *see also* Adolescents; Citizenship education; High Schools
Subculture, conception of, 364-367, 373-374
Subject matter, 100-121, 171-172
"Summer program," 325-334, 369-373
Syracuse Studies of Citizenship, 83-84

Taba, Hilda, 172
Talented students, grouping of, 8-11
Teacher: involvement in action programs, 255-256; preparation of, 361; role of, 105; salary and status, 303; and students, 281-282
Teaching of Community Civics, The, 102
Television, 183, 184
Textbooks, 30-31
Tufts Civic Education Center, 85, 107

Universal secondary education, 4, 9-10
Urbanization, 94

Values, 235-236
Van Pool, Gerald M., 128
Verde Valley School (Ariz.), 148-165, 171, 296

War gaming, 306
Warren, Hamilton, 149, 150
Welling, Richard, 129-130
What the High Schools Ought to Teach, 41
Wilson, Howard E., 37-38, 71, 72
Wilson, Woodrow, 54
Wright, C. R., 231

Youth Tell Their Story (Bell), 41

Zeleny, Leslie D., 231